

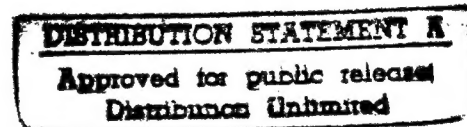
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5 March 1984

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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5 March 1984

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## NORTHEAST ASIA

### BRIEFS

COMMENTARY URGES TRIPARTITE TALKS--Pyangyong, 14 Feb (XINHUA)--The Korean paper "NODONG SINMUN" says in a commentary today that "to defuse tension, maintain and consolidate peace, and resolve the Korean question peacefully" is "the consistent stand and principle" of the workers' party and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It says that Korea has put forth a series of reasonable proposals and made unremitting efforts for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. However, the South-North dialogues have broken down due to the pressure of the United States on the South Korean side and its obstruction to such dialogues, it points out. It states that Korea's recent proposal for tripartite talks is the most reasonable and realistic proposal for consultations to seek a peaceful solution of the Korean problem. It urges the United States and the South Korean authorities to accept the proposal with sincerity. Korea is waiting for the U.S. response to the proposal, it says. [Text] [OW140841 Beijing XINHUA in English 0652 GMT 14 Feb 84]

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT URGED--Tokyo, 14 Feb (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said here yesterday he hoped the birth of a new Soviet leadership will lead to the promotion of U.S.-Soviet nuclear disarmament talks and pave the way for establishing a long and steady Japan-Soviet friendship. Nakasone was commenting on yesterday's election of Konstantin Chernenko as new general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said nuclear disarmament is the most important problem facing the world today and it should be solved through "steady efforts" by the Soviet Union and the United States. On Japan-Soviet relations, he said his government has made it one of its basic objectives to maintain and promote coexistence and friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union. He said the two countries should take the opportunity to solve their "pending issues" so as to pave the way for a lasting and steady friendship between them. [Text] [OW141025 Beijing XINHUA in English 0910 GMT 14 Feb 84]

CSO: 4000/211

## WESTERN EUROPE

### FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT SIGNALS CLOSER RELATIONS

#### Vayrynen Given Warm Welcome

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 29 Jan 84 p 8

[Article by Stefan Lundberg]

[Text] Peking--Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen's official visit to China got off to something of a false start. Vayrynen's plane landed in Peking on Saturday an hour earlier than planned. The Chinese hosts, who were not notified until the last minute, came sprinting through the halls of the airplane terminal in order to get through and meet Vayrynen when he stepped off the plane.

The arrival took place without any kind of ceremony. The Chinese hosts were represented by Foreign Minister Yao Guang, not Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, as indicated in the preliminary program. The program was later changed because Wu was busy somewhere else. Vayrynen did not meet Wu until later that evening at the banquet given by the Chinese foreign minister.

The Finnish delegation landed in a cold and windy Peking at 11:30 am after an almost 24-hour plane trip with landings at Zurich, Athens and Bombay. After an informal lunch, Foreign Minister Vayrynen's entourage and the accompanying leaders of the Finnish business sector visited the Forbidden City, the part of Peking that was the administrative center in the days of the emperors.

Vayrynen was guided through the entire museum city by the head of the museum.

#### Boyhood Dream

Foreign Minister Vayrynen, who told journalists there that China had been a travel goal he dreamed of back when he was a boy, showed a genuine interest in the historic site despite the fact that both guests and hosts were bothered by the icy cold. The temperature was - 9° Celsius in Peking, which was devoid of snow. The hosts were represented during the visit to the Forbidden City by Mei Zhaorong, chief of the West European section of the Chinese Foreign Ministry.

According to reports in Peking, the fact that Vayrynen was received without much ceremony is nothing unusual. Only chiefs of state are given a more ceremonious reception. It was Swissair's timetable that played a trick on both hosts and guests. The Chinese got word of Vayrynen's premature arrival only a few hours before the plane landed.

#### No New Opening

Despite the fact that Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Zueqian stressed in his speech at the banquet last night that "friendly relations between China and Finland have already reached a new stage of development," one should not talk about any new opening up in Finnish foreign policy toward China. And Finnish sources were also careful to stress that the foreign minister's visit does not represent any dramatic change in relations between the two countries.

Wu's statement should be regarded as an affirmation that relations have developed so well that a Finnish visit at the foreign ministerial level is now possible.

Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen's speech at the banquet also clearly emphasized the point that the visit expresses a reinforcement and further development of relations between the two lands.

Vayrynen especially stressed the importance of the fact that the representatives of Finnish business who came along on the trip now have an opportunity to establish personal contacts with China and its business leaders.

Today the Finnish business delegation along with Vayrynen will meet the minister of China's state economic commission, Zhang Jingfu, and the foreign trade minister, Mrs Chen Muhua, in the big People's Palace.

Foreign Minister Wu also mentioned Soviet-American relations and said that the race surrounding the medium-range missiles of the two superpowers is a threat not only to European countries but to peace in Asia and the entire world as well.

#### Realm of Heroes

In a similar context Wu also paid a traditional compliment to Finland when he said it was hardly an accident that the Chinese translation of the "Kalevala" was given the title, "The Realm of Heroes."

"Through their long heroic struggle the people of Finland have freed themselves from outside shackles and have acquired national independence," Wu said.

According to Wu, relations between our lands have had a favorable development in peaceful coexistence on the basis of five principles.



"There are no conflicts of interest or insoluble problems between our two countries," said Wu who continued that at one time Finland gave China its valuable support when China regained its rightful place in the United Nations.

"The government of China, in turn, has constantly respected and supported Finland's 'active, peaceful neutrality policy.'"

Wu also pointed out that there has been a development in Finnish and Chinese cooperation in the areas of economics, science, technology and culture.

Wu expressed a desire that cooperation and exchange between our two lands could be developed in all areas and the big names among the business people on this trip certainly also express an equally fervent desire for a bigger bite of the Chinese market cake than we have today. Finland's exports to China in 1982 amounted to a measly 200 million marks.

#### Paper Urges Increased Trade

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 2 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial by Jan-Magnus Jansson: "Finland and China"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen's visit to China was politically well-motivated and what we must do now, as other small countries have done, is to expand our trade and create an expertise that includes mastery of the Chinese language and culture, writes Jan-Magnus Jansson.

Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen's visit to China can be regarded as a belated but important opening up on our part toward that country. Finland had a fairly recent visit from a high-level Chinese guest when Deputy Prime Minister Zheng Biao visited us in 1979 in connection with a trip around the Nordic region. Finnish ministers have also visited China, but Vayrynen's trip is the first at the foreign minister level.

When the Cultural Revolution was shelved and Deng's pragmatic orientation got the upper hand in China, a very quick and dramatic opening up to the outside world occurred in China, especially with respect to western countries. Chinese politicians, business leaders and scientists streamed to the leading western countries to establish new ties, place big orders and participate in scientific advances. Under the sign of the "four modernizations," China was to quickly take its place in the ranks of the industrially developed nations and the real great powers.

The Chinese initiative led in return to many leading western politicians, chiefs of state and heads of government visiting China. This is true, for example, of the monarchs of our neighbors, Denmark and Sweden.

Finland's policy has been hesitant. The real political background for not immediately joining the line is understandable. China's relationship to our superpower neighbor, the Soviet Union, has been so heated for such a long time that too much activity on our side could have led to wrong interpretations.

But now China's relations with Moscow have thawed up to some extent. The country's relationship to the two superpowers has become more symmetrical, even if the distrust of the Soviet Union and the demand for a changed Soviet position on many key issues still remain. The foreign minister's visit to Peking therefore appeared to be an especially well-motivated step and it is high time that this was done.

No jarring notes were heard in Peking despite some differences in outlook. In Chinese eyes Finland has merits that are given greater value than the restraint that has marked official Finnish policy for a long time. Finland was one of the first western countries to recognize the People's Republic of China--it happened in 1951--and correct ties with Peking have been maintained all along. We have also consistently recommended Chinese membership in the United Nations in accordance with the view that the international organization should include all nations.

To judge from the official speeches in Peking and the rest of the reception accorded to Vayrynen, China has not forgotten this "long line" in Finnish policy. We also note that Prime Minister Zhao has been invited to come to Finland in connection with his Nordic trip in the near future, in the same way we invited Zheng earlier.

One concern, of course, is the minor extent of trade between Finland and China. We are often handed impressive growth percentages, but the fact is that the growth is occurring on the basis of an extremely low volume. Last year the value of our exports to China was 255 million marks or 0.4 percent of our total exports and we imported 196 million marks worth of goods or 0.3 percent of our total.

At present our exports to China are dominated by the products of the wood and chemical industries, but there are hopes that we could get orders there for machinery and equipment of various kinds. But it is no easy matter to suddenly expand trade with China. Last year we went over to trade in convertible currencies, which has many advantages but also creates more hectic competition. The Chinese place high value on favorable credit terms and prefer to make their payments in the form of goods. They have also become more cautious since the end of the 1970's, after their foreign debt reached a dangerous level.

However other countries, including many small ones, have overcome the obstacles and it should also be possible for us. But what is needed on our

part is adequate expertise. We also need people educated in Chinese affairs, Sinologists who are familiar with that country's language and its thousands of years of ever-present history. For one can make one prediction with great assurance: if there are no unexpected setbacks, China with its population of billions and its high cultural level will take a leading place among the nations of the world sometime in the 21st century.

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CSO: 3650/118

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MAO'S INSTRUCTIONS ON XIZANG NATIONALITIES

HK090844 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 84 p 5

[Article by Wang Feng [3076 6912]: "A Typical Example of Integrating High Principles With Flexibility--Recollection of Several Incidents of How Comrade Mao Zedong Gave Guidance to Work in Xizang"]

[Text] One of the outstanding contributions of the great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary Comrade Mao Zedong to the Chinese revolution was that in his prolonged revolutionary practice, he applied the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory on nationalities; put forth, through continuous investigation and study, collecting the wisdom and summing up the experiences of the entire party, the strategic thought, tactics, and principles for solving domestic nationality problems; and formulated nationality policies that completely conformed to our national conditions and thus guided the various nationalities in our country in embarking on a path of socialist development on which various nationalities made social development at their respective stages. A typical example of this was the series of principles and policies that Comrade Mao Zedong personally formulated to handle the problems related to the autonomy of Xizang regarding nationalities. As a cadre who was engaged in nationality work, I had the honor to time and again listen to Chairman Mao's instructions on handling major problems related to Xizang. Today, when we are marking the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong, I still find that I benefit by recollecting Chairman Mao's major policy decisions and directives on work in Xizang. I am going to focus my narration on a few major issues related to Xizang.

#### I

Comrade Mao Zedong's first major policy decision on handling the problems related to Xizang was the peaceful liberation of Xizang in order to achieve the reunification of the mainland of our motherland. Xizang is situated along the southwest border of our motherland. The Zang nationality is a fine nationality with a long history in our country. In the prolonged process of the development of history, it has made important contributions, together with other fraternal nationalities, for the prosperity and development of our motherland.

However, for a long time the people in Xizang were under the heels of the feudal serfdom and the aggressive force of imperialists. In order to free the Xizang people from bitter suffering, we had first to drive out the aggressive force of

imperialists, liberate Xizang, and complete the reunification of the mainland of our motherland. As the Chinese people's liberation war developed in triumph in 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong promptly put forth, with the magnificent courage and insight of a proletarian revolutionary, the issue of liberating Xizang and personally directed the Xibei and Xinan CPC bureaus and the CPC committees of relevant provinces to conscientiously investigate and study the situation in Xizang and think of a way to liberate Xizang. After a period of investigation, study, and discussion, Comrade Mao Zedong made the major policy decision of striving to peacefully liberate Xizang. On 18 March 1950, in accordance with the order of the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong, and the central people's government, the PLA took a pledge to march into Xizang. In October that year, it liberated Qamdo, an important city in eastern Xizang, and thus created conditions for the peaceful liberation of Xizang. While ordering the PLA to march into Xizang, the central people's government notified the local government in Xizang to send representatives to hold talks with the central government in order to discuss the matters related to the peaceful liberation of Xizang. History has already proved that the major strategic policy decision of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong on the peaceful liberation of Xizang entirely conformed to the history and reality in Xizang and laid a foundation for the victorious development of the revolution in and construction of Xizang.

Under Comrade Mao Zedong's personal guidance, on 23 May 1951, the Xizang local government signed with the central people's government the "agreement on the methods for the peaceful liberation of Xizang." There are 17 clauses in this agreement and the major clauses are: 1) The imperialist aggressive force is to be driven out of Xizang and Xizang is to be returned to the large family of its motherland, the PRC. The Xizang local government is to conscientiously assist the PLA to march into Xizang and to strengthen the national defense there. The army in Xizang is to be reorganized step by step into the PLA. 2) A nationality regional autonomy is to be established in Xizang under the unified leadership of the central people's government. 3) The central people's government is to be in charge of handling in a unified manner all the foreign affairs related to Xizang region, maintaining peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries, and establishing and developing fair trade relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefits, and mutual respect of each other's sovereignty over its territory. 4) Various reforms must be carried out in Xizang. The Xizang local government must carry out the reform spontaneously and when the people put forth a request for reform, they must adopt the method of consulting with Xizang leaders to solve the problems. 5) We should realize the internal unity and unification of the nationalities in Xizang, of which the major aspect is unity between the two sides represented by Dalai and Bainqen. 6) A policy of freedom of religious belief is to be carried out in Xizang and the religious belief and customs of the Xizang people will be respected. 7) The agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, commerce, and cultural and educational undertakings in Xizang are to be developed step by step in light of the reality of Xizang.

From the above-mentioned content of the agreement we can see that the "17 clause agreement" correctly answers the problems put forth by Xizang's historical development. It gives full consideration to the interests of the Xizang local authorities at that time and also considers the long-term fundamental

interests of the Xizang people as a starting point. It not only regards the safeguarding of the motherland's unification as a prerequisite, but also gives full consideration to the national and regional characteristics of Xizang. It is a typical example of integrating high principle with flexibility. On the day the agreement was signed, Comrade Mao Zedong happily said: Great, we have done a great deed, which is also a great good deed for the people of all strata in Xizang. This is a victory, but it is only a first step. The next step is to realize this agreement and this will depend on our efforts.

As provided by the "17 clause agreement," after the PLA and the work personnel entered Xizang, their major tasks were implementing the agreement and strengthening the national defense there. However, under the historical and practical conditions of that time, it was impossible to implement the agreement once and for all and we could only develop our work gradually. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out: "In considering any problems related to Xizang, we should give priority to two problems--that of nationality and that of religion. In doing any work, we must be prudent and make progress in a sound manner." This principle of "being prudent and making progress in a sound manner" entirely conformed to the reality in Xizang. It has played a major role in promoting the smooth development of all work in Xizang. The reasons for this are as follows: 1) The gap between the Zang and Han nationalities that had been left over by history was very deep and this gap was aggravated by discord sown by the imperialists. As a result, the people of various strata in Xizang, particularly the upper stratum of feudal lords, doubted and were apprehensive of the CPC's policies. 2) Lamaism was a popular and far-reaching religion among the people in Xizang. 3) The Xizang nationality was still under a social system of serfdom and the superstructure of this serfdom was the dictatorship of feudal lords, a dictatorship that combined government administration with religion. This dictatorship ruled the Xizang nationality but could still represent it. In the face of these specific conditions, the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong instructed the PLA units and the working personnel that had entered Xizang, telling them to resolutely carry out the principle of regarding the work related to the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front with the upper stratum as the core, while satisfactorily doing the work of exerting our impact on the masses of people. The political foundation of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front use the struggle against the imperialists and the love for the motherland. Under the conditions then, we naturally had to support all the people who opposed imperialism and loved the motherland. As for the people who adopted a wait-and-see attitude and wavered between the two sides, we also had to strive to win them over. As for the previous pro-imperialist elements, as long as they had severed their links with the imperialists and refrained from sabotage or resistance, we also had to unite all of them, without censuring them for their past misdeeds. We should give most of the upper-stratum minority nationality religious people appropriate political status and protect their economic interests. We should ensure that after the implementation of the political and economic reform, their political position and standard of living will not be lowered. In that period, Comrade Mao Zedong spared time from his busy work schedule to meet personally and talk with the representative of upper-stratum people who came from Xizang to Beijing for visits or meetings.

He had heart-to-heart talks with them and explained to them the party's nationality and religion policies in order to unite with and educate them. The work of exerting our influence among the masses of the people is to publicize the party's nationality policies through what work we could do at that time, such as developing trade, building roads, developing production, giving free medical service, providing loans for agriculture and animal husbandry, establishing schools, and training nationality cadres, and thus extend the party's influence and strengthen its ties with the masses of people. As a result, we educated and united with the people, aroused their political consciousness, and strengthened the patriotism in their minds while expanding the anti-imperialist patriotic force, isolating the reactionaries and preparing conditions for the democratic reform.

However, as soon as the agreement was signed, the upper-stratum reactionary clique in Xizang continuously and deliberately planned to create trouble, opposed the implementation of the agreement, and tried in vain to make Xizang break away from the motherland and maintain its feudal serfdom forever. For example, when the PLA and the work personnel entered Xizang in 1951, then prime minister (Lukangwa) not only did not implement what was stipulated in the agreement that the Xizang local government had to support the PLA in entering Xizang and strengthening the national defense, but publicly said that "hunger is a worse suffering than defeat in war" and ordered a ban against the supply of fodder and grain for the PLA. In March and April 1952, the two prime ministers secretly plotted and supported the incident of the puppet people's assembly. They gathered together a handful of soldiers of the Xizang local army, lamas and scoundrels to present a petition to the government, launched an armed riot, surrounded the office of the representative of the central authorities and the residence of Minister Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, and opposed the peace agreement and the reunification of the motherland. In handling this serious incident that impeded the implementation of the agreement, we still adhered to the principle of being prudent and making progress in a sound manner. Through justified, advantageous, and moderate struggle, the Dalai Lama issued a circular announcing the dismissal of the puppet people's assembly and the two prime ministers. The successful solution of the puppet people's assembly incident was a victory for Comrade Mao Zedong's policy of being prudent and making progress in a sound manner. It dealt a heavy blow to a handful of reactionaries who attempted to exploit this incident to sow discord between the Han and Zang nationalities, impede the implementation of the "17 clause agreement," and thus achieve their scheme to split our motherland. In October 1956, the Dalai Lama and Banqen Erdini Qoigyigyan were invited to India to take part in the activities to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the death of Sakyamuni. Instigated by imperialists and foreign reactionary forces, a small number of upper-stratum reactionaries exploited this opportunity to create trouble. On the one hand, they plotted to stage a riot in Lhasa and other areas and on the other hand, they surrounded the Dalai in India, sowed discord between the Dalai and the central authorities, and wanted the Dalai to stay in India and pursue the so-called "independence of Xizang." In fact, this was aimed at pushing the Dalai onto an impasse of alienating himself

from the motherland and the people in Xizang. In solving this problem, the PLA units and work personnel in Xizang continued to implement the principle of being prudent and making progress in a sound manner. On the one hand, they made necessary military preparations for an emergency and on the other hand, they conscientiously won over and united with the leaders of the Xizang local government and the people of various circles, explained the cardinal principles to the reactionaries, weighed the advantages and disadvantages for the reactionaries and carried out justified, advantageous, and moderate political struggle against the reactionaries. In this way, they once again successfully smashed the tricks of the reactionary forces at home and abroad. Through patient and careful work, the Dalai Lama finally returned to Xizang.

The Xizang reactionaries continuously created trouble, but continuously failed. However, they did not draw lessons from their failures, but continued to undermine the implementation of the agreement and secretary carried out conspiratory activities in order to split the motherland. In March 1959, a few stubborn upper-stratum cliques launched an armed rebellion and thus thoroughly destroyed the agreement. The rebellion resulted in the self-courted destruction of the Xizang reactionaries and the thorough abolishment of the serfdom in Xizang.

## II

Another major policy decision of Comrade Mao Zedong in handling the problems related to Xizang was the strategic procedures he personally formulated of dividing the revolution in Xizang into two stages and the principles and policies of peaceful reform he decided upon.

Comrade Mao Zedong always adopted a very prudent attitude towards the problem of social reform in Xizang. As far back as around the time when the PLA entered Xizang, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the revolution in Xizang would develop in two stages and that "the first stage is to embark on the path of democracy and the second stage is to embark on the path of socialism." Furthermore, he pointed out that the fulfillment of the task of the democratic revolution also had to develop in two stages. First, we had to unite all the anti-imperialist and patriotic forces and focus on dealing blows at the imperialists and their loyal lackeys, the pro-imperialist splittists. When Comrade Mao Zedong met the Xizang welcome delegation in 1952, he pointed out: "Whether or not land should be divided up in minority nationality areas will be decided by the minority nationality people themselves. In the Xizang area, we do not talk about the division of land now. Whether land will be divided up in the future will be decided by you yourselves. The land will be divided by you instead of by us for you." In 1956, in a meeting presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong, it was decided that no democratic reform would be carried out in Xizang in the Second 5-Year Plan period. In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In Xizang, because of the immature conditions there, we have not yet carried out democratic reform. According to the 17 clause agreement between the central authorities and the Xizang local government, a reform in the social system there must be carried out, but as for when this reform is to be carried out, we have to wait until the time comes when the masses of people in Xizang and the leading people



there feel it is feasible to carry out the reform, and then we will be able to make a decision on the reform. We should not be impatient." We know that in the final analysis, the liberation of a nationality is the liberation of the laboring people who form the principal body of the nationality. Only by carrying out a thorough social reform can we liberate the laboring people, emancipate the productive force, and thus sweep away the obstacles from the prosperous development of the nationality. However, the social reform of a minority nationality must be carried out by the broad masses of laboring people of the nationality and the public leaders that have maintained ties with the people. It is necessary to wait and make concessions when the upper-stratum people of the nationality and religion have not yet enlightened their minds for the reform. Comrade Mao Zedong's policy decision on the problem related to social reform in Xizang includes a concession to the upper-stratum people of the nationality and religion. This is a positive concession.

However, the upper-stratum reactionary clique in Xizang regarded this concession as a sign of weakness that they could take advantage of and wantonly launched a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion on 10 March 1959. This aroused the grave indignation of the broad masses of laboring people and the patriotic and progressive upper-stratum people there, who demanded a rapid suppression of the rebellion and the implementation of democratic reform. Comrade Mao Zedong promptly put forth the principle of "carrying out the reform while suppressing the rebellion." He also pointed out that while carrying out the democratic reform, we must continue to persist in carrying out the reform in a peaceful manner and closely combine the direct mobilization of the masses of the people with consultation with the upper-stratum patriots. We protected the serf owners who did not take part in the rebellion to safely undergo the reform by buying from them their means of production and distributing these means of production to the masses of people. On the other hand, we confiscated the means of production of the rebellious serf owners and distributed them among the masses of people. Under the guidance of this principle, the enthusiasm of the masses of the people was aroused and an earthshaking democratic reform quickly developed in a widespread manner in Xizang. At this key junction, when the millions of serfs rose up to bury the serfdom, in order to more accurately understand the situation in Xizang and gave guidance to its democratic reform, on 7 April 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong sent a telegram to me and put forth a program for making an investigation in Xizang on 13 problems related to the nationality, religious and other aspects there.

I am going to give the following summary of the outline:

I. We had to investigate the following aspect of the population and land area of the Zang nationality.

1) What was the population in the area to the west of the Jinsha Jiang, including Qamdo, Qianzhang, and Houzang (also Ngari), which constituted Xizang in its proper sense? (It was said that the figure was 1.2 million people. Was it correct?) How many people of Zang nationality were living in Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai provinces? (It was said the number was 2 to 3 million people. Was this correct?)

II. We had to make an investigation about the following aspects of the feudal serfdom in Xizang:

1) What was the relationship between serfs and serf owners (the peers)? In what proportion did they divide the products between them? Some said the proportion was 2:10, and some said that actually all the products belonged to the peers, but in fact, the serfs retained a part of the products for their livelihood by deceptively understating the output figures. Was what they said correct? 2) What were the political relationships between the peers and the serfs? Did the peers have the right to kill serfs? Were there kangaroo courts giving punishment without going through normal legal procedures? 3) What was the source of revenue for the governments at various levels in Xizang to disburse their excessive expenditure and the excessive expenditure of the Xiang local army? Did the revenue come from the serfs or the peers?

III. We had to make an investigation in the following aspects of their religion:

1) How many lamas were there in Xizang? Was 80,000 a correct figure as was given by some people? 2) What was the state of affairs related to the exploitation and oppression of the serfs by Lama temples? What was the true situation of exploitation and operation inside Lama temples? Some said that those Lamas who resisted would be skinned or have their tendons pulled out. Was this true?

IV. We had to investigate other aspects of the region:

1) What was the proportion of leftist, middle-of-the-road, and rightist elements in the entire exploiting class in Xizang? Was there more or less than one-third leftist elements in it? What was the percentage of intermediate middle-of-the-road elements? 2) What percentage did the rebels account for in the entire proportion there? Was it larger than 5 percent? Was it larger or smaller, only 1.2, or 3 percent? What was the actual figure? 3) What was the development of the movement of pouring out grievances in the Lama temples in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan?

From the above aspects regarding the tasks of the investigation, we can see that in handling democratic reform in Xizang, Comrade Mao Zedong strived to understand and study the overall situation, (including the basic and specific aspects in Xizang) of the Zang nationality and thus gave guidance to the work in Xizang in light of the reality and the entire situation in Xizang. At that time, as Xizang was a border region, he could not make personal investigation, but he wanted to make a decision after having clearly understood the actual situation. We must always learn from and carry on this thinking method and work style of proceeding from objective reality and seeking truth from facts in formulating principles and policies, a method and style which vividly embodied the Marxist ideological line.

The day after I received the telegram, I returned to Beijing by way of Xian to report to Chairman Mao and listen to his important instructions.

Not long afterward, Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping directed me to go to Xizang to study, together with the responsible comrades of the Xizang work committee, the basic conditions in Xizang and the problems there related to the

policies of democratic reform. Comrade Mao Zedong's investigation program clearly directed the orientation of this investigation. In the process of making thorough investigation in rural and pastoral areas, we followed Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions and focused on studying the buying-out policy. We decided to buy land, farm animals, farm tools, and surplus housing from the serf owners and their agents who did not take part in the rebellion and formulated initial methods for deciding on the purchase prices and terms of payment in buying these things. At the same time, we formulated a class line for the democratic reform, namely, relying on the laboring people, uniting all forces that could be united with, and systematically abolishing the feudal serfdom giving different treatment to different serf owners. Under the guidance of this class line, we adopted a series of corresponding steps and measures, focused on dealing blows at rebellious serf owners and their agents, and relied on and united with the majority of the people. As a result, we smoothly finished the democratic reform in Xizang in a short period of 2 years, overthrew the feudal serfdom in Xizang, and established a new people's democratic Xizang. The victory in putting down the rebellion and carrying out the reform was another major victory for the party's nationality policies and was a victory in Comrade Mao Zedong's series of major policy decisions on Xizang problems.

From the above simple recollection, we can see that the process of the democratic reform of the Xizang nationality was full of twists and turns and involved sharp and complicated struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong showed his great foresight in proceeding from the reality in Xizang, dividing the revolution in Xizang into two stages, gradually leading the Xizang nationality in forging ahead, and victoriously accomplishing the democratic reform. Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic and tactic thoughts in handling the problems related to Xizang, the series of principles and policies formulated by him, and the rich experiences that he gained from practice are a very valuable legacy for us. We must conscientiously study and summarize them and apply them in the party's nationality work today and thus strive to open up new prospects for our nationality work. This is what I thought of today as I take part in the activities to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong. I think that this must be the best thing for me to do in commemorating Comrade Mao Zedong.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SIMA GUANG'S THINKING ON NATIONALITIES RELATIONS

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[Article by Yang Guoyong [2799 0948 0516]: "The Progressiveness and Limitations of Sima Guang's Thinking on Nationalities"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] China has been a multinational country since ancient times. The history of China is also a history jointly created by various nationalities. In ancient China, friendly communications and harmonious relations among various nationalities represented the main feature of our history. However, because of the existence of class confrontation at that time, there naturally existed antagonistic relations among various nationalities simultaneously. With regard to the question of nationalities, most of the thinkers and politicians in ancient China emphasized the distinction of "clans and nationalities." Starting from this concept, they either discriminated against the national minorities with big-nationality chauvinism, or utilized narrow nationalism to stir up antagonistic sentiments against other nationalities, thus leading to numerous national conflicts or even wars between the nationalities.

Sima Guang (1019-1086) was born in the Northern Song Dynasty, which was a time when very sharp conflicts took place in ancient China. Liao (Khitan nationality) and Western Xia (Dangxiang nationality) in the north and the minor nationalities in Hu, Guang, Chuan, and Qian in the south often conducted incursions and uprisings, which threatened the existence of Northern Song. Confronted with this grave situation, Sima Guang, as a politician and thinker, had to pay more attention to the experiences and lessons concerning the question of nationalities in history, so as to find a solution to the existing problems. Therefore, in his great work "History As a Mirror," he purposely selected incidents connected with the relations between nationalities, and expressed his views either through messages introduced by "the official Guang says," or through the words of some other fictitious characters. Sometimes, he utilized the description of certain events to express his views and proposals regarding the question of nationalities. Many of his views transcended traditional concepts.

/First, he opposed the traditional "concept of legitimacy."/ After the Han Dynasty, some scholars denounced certain dynasties which they did not like as illegitimate organs which were not worth recording. They based their theories

on the doctrine of the conflict of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth), which in effect amounted to the concept of feudal legitimacy or national prejudice. Sima Guang said: "I am foolish enough not to understand the concept of legitimacy of former times. I think that if an emperor fails to unify the whole country, his title of emperor will not be well-deserved. Different states, whether they are of the Han nationality or of other nationalities, and whether they are large or small, strong or weak, are all states in themselves, like the different small countries in ancient times. How can we consider one state as legitimate and other states as illegitimate?" In particular, he criticized the practice of "excluding all the chronological events" of the northern dynasty and termed it "biased expression and not fair statements." ("History As a Mirror," Vol 69)

It was precisely because of this that, in his work "History As a Mirror," he gave rather fair and objective treatment to the merits and demerit of the personages or states of the national minorities. He gave comprehensive descriptions of the abilities and merits and shortcomings of such minor nationality personages as Liu Yuan, Shi Le, Yao Xiang, and Li Keyong. He described the pre-Qin Fu Jian as "appointing talented people, revitalizing abandoned things, caring for agriculture and mulberry growth, helping the poor, worshipping the gods, founding schools, commending morality and justice, and reviving useful old customs, and the people of Qin were greatly pleased." ("History As a Mirror," Vol 100) He praised Emperor Xiao Wen of Northern Wei as "a brilliant emperor of Wei." ("History As a Mirror," Vol 138) He even boldly adopted the material published in the second volume of "Temples and Monasteries in Luoyang" and recorded the praise of the people of the southern dynasty given to Northern Wei: "In the first year of Datong of Emperor Liang Wu, Chen Qingzhi, who had just returned from Wei, warmly praised the people of the north. Astonished, Zhu asked for an explanation. Qingzhi said: 'Originally I thought the region north of the great river to be a land of backwardness and barbarism. However, when I arrived at Luoyang, I then knew the [word indistinct] were in the central plains. The region east of the river is not its equal; so why should we look down on them?'" ("History As a Mirror," Vol 153)

/Second, he held that promises between different nationalities must be kept./ He criticized the act of Emperor Zhao of Han in employing Fu Jiezi to use gold coins to lure and subsequently kill Wang Angui of Loulan, and called it a "scheme of robbers" and a "shameful" act. ("History As a Mirror," Vol 23) He appreciated very much the words of Emperor Xiao Wen of Wei: "For a ruler, it is sad to be unable to be fair and sincere. Otherwise, with fairness and sincerity, even the people of Hu and Yue can be made to live in harmony like brothers." ("History As a Mirror," Vol 140) He paid special attention to the handling of problems concerning relations among different nationalities by the emperors of the Tang Dynasty, because, at that time, the minor nationalities were rather active and aggressive in affairs inside and outside the court and in the interior and the border areas. For a rather long period, the security and prosperity of the Tang Dynasty depended greatly on the loyalty or disloyalty of these minor nationalities. Quite a number of generals of minor nationality origin, such as Qibiheli, Ashina Sheer, Gao Xianzhi, Ge Shuhan, Li Guangbi, and Lun Gongren, made great contributions to the security and consolidation of the Tang Dynasty. He attached great importance to the deeds of Emperor Tai Zong of

Tang, because he was hailed as the "heavenly khan" by the minor nationalities. He advocated Tai Zong's faithfulness in honoring his promise by not taking the opportunity to conquer the Turks, of whom "both the ruler and the ministers were stupid and weak, and they could easily be defeated." On the other hand, he criticized Tai Zong for his failure to honor his marriage contract with Zhenzhu Khan of the Xueyantuo clan of the Tiele tribe out of strategic considerations, and denounced it as "the strong bullying the weak and failure to keep one's promise ... it is really a [word indistinct]." ("History As a Mirror," Vol 197) In another example, in the 14th year of Kaiyuan in the reign of Xuan Zong (AD 726), Mohe of Heishui pledged loyalty to Tang and the area was named Heishui Prefecture. Wuyi, ruler of Mohe of Bohai, planned to attack Heishui in the hope of sabotaging the above, but his younger brother, Menyi, disagreed with him. Later, Menyi went to Tang and was appointed general of the left garrison. Wuyi sent a report to Tang and requested that Menyi be executed. Xuan Zong sent him a reply and lied about Menyi's being exiled to Ningnan. Afterward, Wuyi found out the truth and accused Xuan Zong of lying. In this respect, Sima Guang criticized Xuan Zong of Tang: "His strength cannot subdue Wuyi, and his benevolence cannot give protection to Menyi. Is it not shameful that he tells lies like a mean person...!" ("History As a Mirror," Vol 213)

/Third, oppose nationality discrimination and praise national integrity./

In Volume 175 of "History As a Mirror," the deeds of Cao Aocao, marshal of eastern Wei in the northern dynasties, in opposing nationality discrimination were recorded: "At that time, the people of Xianbei nationality looked down upon Han people, but they were somewhat afraid of Gao Aocao. When (Gao) Huan gave orders to his subordinates, he usually used the language of Xianbei, but when Aocao was present, he had to use the Han language. Once, when Liu Gui, censure officer, was sitting beside Aocao, and there came a report that toilers at a river project were sick or dead in large numbers, Gui said: "Never mind about them--they are only persons worth a cent." At this Aocao became very angry and he drew his knife and killed Gui." In this message, Sima Guang changed the wording of "a man whose head is worth a cent" as described in the "Biography of Gaoang--History of the North" to "persons worth a cent." (an explanation is offered in Lu You's "Notes at Laoxue Hut," Volume 10: "The so-called 'head worth a cent' is equal to 'one cent.'") Through the change of wording, emphasis was achieved, which showed the grave condition of nationality discrimination suffered by the Han people, and, at the same time, gave prominence to the noble spirit of the national pride of Gao Aocao.

Sima Guang also vigorously commended the outstanding upright characters of the minor nationalities. Volume 196 of "History As a Mirror" recorded such an incident: In the 16th year of Zhenguan in the reign of Tai Zong of the Tang Dynasty, the deputy controller of the Congshan Circuit, Qibiheli (originally the chieftain of the Qibi clan of the Tiele Tribe) was abducted by some Qibi persons to the Xue Yantuo clan. In the face of Zhenzhu Khan of Xue Yantuo, he "sat on the ground with his legs widely stretched, drew out his knife and shouted: 'How can a hero of Tang be humiliated by a barbarian court, may heaven and earth, and the sun and the moon, know my heart!' Thus he cut off his left ear as a gesture of his pledge."

"History As a Mirror" devoted many pages to condemning those persons who betrayed their country to seek power and wealth. In particular, it detailed the shameful acts of Shi Jingtang, former minister of the later Tang. Shi Jingtang founded the Later Jin with the help of Qidan. In return, he referred to himself as a filial emperor and called the ruler of Qidan the paternal emperor, and he ceded to Qidan 16 districts in the region of Yanyun. However, he failed to obtain the favor of his master in later years, and, even with his son calling himself "grandson" and his wife calling herself "humble maid," the later Jin could not escape its doom. All these records could very probably imply something in connection with the situation of the Northern Song Dynasty. Therefore, when annotating this event, Hu Sanshen, who annotated "History As a Mirror," could not but utter his lament: "It was especially so in the dynasties of Jin and Song, when rulers had to call themselves subjects and their wives humble maids. Oh, what shame!" ("History As a Mirror," Vol 285)

However, people's words and deeds were often contradictory, and Sima Guang seemed no exception. On the one hand, he showed great concern for his country and people, and was unhappy about the weakness of the country and the poverty of the people. On the other hand, he opposed the introduction of the new laws by Wang Anshi, which was aimed at revitalizing Northern Song. He stood for the correct handling of relations among different nationalities, while he persistently implemented Northern Song's traditional policy of compromise and concession. Hence, he not only failed to look at the harassment and threat of Qidan and Western Xia as taking advantage of the internal disorder of Northern Song, but attributed the cause to the mishandling of matters by some generals guarding the border. He also condemned the measures taken by Emperor Shen Zong of Song, aimed at unifying the country and defending the frontier, and termed it "not modeling himself after the moral deeds of Yu, Shun, Zhou, and Xuan, but admiring the doings of Chin Shihuang and Han Wuti. Even if Cong Ridge can be crossed, the wide desert can be conquered, Gaolan can be defeated, and courts can be burnt, what good will result!" ("Collected Works of Lord Sima Wen--Posthumous Papers") However, when Sima Guang said this, he virtually forgot his own view on unifying the nine districts into one country. As a matter of fact, after the last days of the Tang Dynasty, China was once again in a state of disintegration which lasted for over 300 years. The two Song dynasties, and the opposing states such as Liao, Western Xia, and Jin all exerted their efforts to achieve unification, but their endeavors were unsuccessful owing to various causes. It was not until the 13th century that Genghis Khan and Emperor Shi Zu of Yuan accomplished the historic task of unifying China, and regained the old frontiers of Han and Tang, and the administration over the border areas by a central government.

Sima Guang practiced a policy of compromise and recession. He even went so far as to decide on ceding the four areas in Mizhi to Western Xia by referring to them as "useless land" when he assumed the post of prime minister in the first year of Yuanyou. In his report entitled "Get rid of the errors of the new laws which are harmful to the people and the country" and "on accepting requests

of people in the west for more land," he explicitly elucidated this kind of idea. He was always bent on seeking peace in border areas by compromise and concession. However, he did not fully realize that this kind of peace, realized at the expense of ceding land, increasing financial tribute, or calling oneself a subject or nephew, as practiced later, could only lead to humiliation without any protection. This was harmful to the unification of the country, and was also an irresponsible attitude toward one's country and nation. The nationalities problems of the two Song dynasties were not resolved, and even became worse later. In the end, they were toppled by the minor nationalities. Of course, there were numerous causes underlying these events, but the adoption of this policy could not but prove to be one of the main causes.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HEI BOLI SPEAKS ON SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

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["Excerpts" of speech by Comrade Hei Boli [7815 0130 3810] delivered at Yinchuan area theoretical discussion meeting on 12 November: "Theoretical Work Must Serve Socialist Modernization and Theoretical Workers Must Play an Active Role in Eliminating Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] The calling of the Yinchuan area theoretical discussion meeting is indeed very timely. At the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" was adopted and important talks were made separately by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun. In his talk, Comrade Deng Xiaoping very solemnly pointed out that there should be no spiritual pollution of the ideological front. I, myself, feel that Comrade Xiaoping's advocacy of preventing and eliminating political pollution as the party's urgent tasks on the organization front and ideological front is extremely important and very timely. Failure to resolve this problem will definitely shake the foundation of the four basic principles, corrode the people's fighting spirit, damage the relations between the party and the people, and adversely affect the party's leadership over the people's gigantic enterprise of socialist modernization and construction. This is a matter of great importance which concerns the destiny and future of the party and the state and must be tightly grasped and resolved.

Over the past few years, on the ideological front of our region, every one of us has done much research, propagation, and educational work. We have gone into reality and conducted investigation and research, making the people attain a daily increasing understanding and grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's principle, guidelines, and policies. This has played an important role in promoting the socialist enterprises and has achieved formidable results. However, there are still spiritual pollution problems coming from various channels and in various forms. The main signs are: First, neglecting or looking down on Marxist theories, and making use of capitalist viewpoints to attack the basic theories of Marxism. An important manifestation of this is the talk about the so-called alienation of socialism and the brisk talk about humanism. Among the literary and art circles, some of the comrades, suffering from the influence of the philosophical thinking of the Western capitalist class,

the literary and art thinking of the "modernist school," and other erroneous thoughts, have displayed erroneous viewpoints and turned out productions which are alienated from socialist literature and art. Second, extreme individualism and the thought of "everything for the sake of money" have prominently appeared on the scene. Some people have made a one-sided interpretation of the principle underlying material interests, only caring for the interests of the individual or of small cliques, but neglecting and even damaging the interests of the state, collective, and other people. Third, a sordid enjoyment of the corrupt life-style and behavior of the capitalist class and copying and following the life-style of the capitalist class. Some people have eagerly sought a corrupt life of a low class and vulgar nature. They like to listen to "yellow" music, get drunk, engage in fist fights, and hold vulgar dancing parties. Some youngsters enjoy an easy life, despise work, seek spiritual stimulation, and enjoy reading cheap books and seeing licentious pictures. Fourth, the dying members of feudalism were rekindled, while superstition and gambling were again lively on the scene. This was due in part to the revival of the residues of past decadent feudal practices and due in part to certain criminal elements spreading poison among the populace, cheating and harming the people. If we do not attend to these problems of spiritual pollution in our region on time, they may generate on the part of a portion of the people a sense of distrust of the party and of socialism, and if we allow such a situation to continue, what is the use of undertaking the four modernizations? Theoretical workers should stand at the forefront of these ideological struggles, firmly insist on the Marxist viewpoints, be practical and realistic, study the problems of reality and analyze and criticize as well as rectify erroneous things. All these are important tasks confronting us on the ideological front. Once the problem is solved, our society will have a new appearance and the current situation will be increasingly improved.

On 1 June this year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, writing a foreword in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of HONGQI, urged that "theoretical work must serve socialist modernization and construction." This foreword appropriately illustrates the deep concern on the part of the elderly ranks of our proletarian revolutionists over theoretical work, pointing the correct direction for our work in theoretical studies, theoretical teaching, and theoretical propagation. We should do our work in strict accordance with Comrade Xiaoping's foreword. Our comrades must realize that in prosecuting revolution and construction the proletariat must follow the guidance of revolutionary theories. "Without revolutionary theories, there will be no revolutionary movements." Throughout their whole life, Marx, Engels and Lenin had highly regarded theories and studies on theories, just for the sake of helping the proletariat to extricate themselves from the yoke of the capitalist class, to strive for liberation, and to realize the gigantic enterprises of communism. Engels actually lined up theory, politics, and economics in the same row as the three forms for the proletariat to prosecute their struggles. He said: "If it is the wish of the people to stand at the highest peak of science, it cannot even for a single moment, go without theories and thinking." Lenin combined the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete experiences of the Russian revolution, and created Leninism. Under the guidance of Leninism, the Russian people

achieved the gigantic successes of the October Socialist Revolution. CPC members, with Comrade Mao Zedong as the principal representative, combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete experiences of the Chinese revolution and created Mao Zedong Thought. It was only under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought that the various nationalities of our country were able to transfer this backward oriental nation onto the prosperous road of socialism. Unfortunately, due to the guiding thought gradually leaning to the "left," the disastrous calamity of the "Great Cultural Revolution" subsequently erupted, causing enormous damage to socialist construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has led the entire party and people of the whole country to restore order out of chaos, and under the new historical conditions, step anew on the road of the combination of the universal truths of Marxism with China's concrete practice. In thought and theories, the party has offered a series of important contributions. We may cite the following examples: It established anew the Marxist ideological line of being practical and realistic; it advocated an integrated, and correct, scientific system of grasping and comprehending Mao Zedong Thought; it refuted and negated the "Great Cultural Revolution," banished the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and stopping the use of the slogan "take class struggle as the key link," and formulated the strategic policy of shifting the focal point of work to socialist modernized construction; it insisted on taking a socialist modernization road that conforms with China's conditions and on building a socialism with special Chinese characteristics; it advocated that, simultaneously with the establishment of a high degree of material civilization, a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization should be established; it reiterated insistence on the four basic principles and advocated insistence on the four basic guarantees of the socialist road; it affirmed the intelligent elements as being a part of the working class and that science and technology constitute a productive force; it advocated new guidelines on education and literature and art for the new era; it advocated communism as being not only a social system but also, first, a kind of movement; it advocated firmly insisting on the party's leadership and on improvement of the party's leadership; it advocated improving and perfecting socialist democracy, augmenting the building of the socialist legal system, and consolidating and expanding the socialist united front; it displayed the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces and insisted on the correct guideline of building a modernized and regularized revolutionary army; and so on. All this constitutes the resumption, firm insistence on, and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The party Central Committee has precisely followed the above series of theories to formulate a full set of guidelines and policies and has achieved notable results therefrom. Facts have amply shown that theories play an enormous guiding role in practice. Therefore, we theoretical workers must pay due attention to combining Marxist theories with concrete practices and zealously oppose research methods which refute and even distort the basic principles of Marxism and are alienated from reality. It is erroneous for some people to advocate the problem of the "alienation of socialism." This is because it does not conform with the meaning of the concept of alienation employed by Marx. In "Das Kapital," Marx did not use it as a basic category. Nor did Marx say that alienation would continue to exist in a socialist society. Moreover, this theory does not conform with the reality of Chinese socialism. It is erroneous

and even harmful to treat the imperfection in our society as alienation. The life force of theory consists of its close relationship with revolutionary practices. Theory is formed in the ups and downs of social practice and develops in accordance with the development of practice. Theory comes from practice and must return to practice, performing its task of transforming the world.

The 12th CPC National Congress has clearly pointed out the current central task of the people of our whole country as follows: For the sake of creating a new situation for socialist modernization construction, struggle for the building of a modernized strong socialist nation possessing a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization. We strongly emphasize that theory must serve practice, that is, today, it must serve socialist modernization construction and serve the construction of socialism with special Chinese features.

How should theoretical work serve socialist modernization construction and how do we prevent and eliminate spiritual pollution?

First, we must make clear the direction of research and propagation on philosophy and the social sciences.

Today our country has entered into an era in which an all-round socialist modernization construction is going on. What is the most important lesson or problem in this era? It is what Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his inaugural address to the 12th CPC National Congress: "We must combine the universal truths of Marxism with China's concrete realities, take our own road, and build socialism with China's special characteristics." This constitutes the general key link and the most basic theoretical rule in our opening up of a new situation for socialist modernization, and also points out the direction for research and propagation in philosophy and the social sciences. All of our thinking and actions should revolve around this central theme. The building of a socialism with special Chinese features is an important problem in practice and is also an important theoretical problem. Over the period of nearly 4 years, from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the 12th CPC National Congress, the party Central Committee issued a series of important directives concerning this problem, which, following a prolonged period of practice by comrades of the whole party, have made fairly clear the kind of road to be taken in the building of a socialist system with special Chinese features. Naturally, we still need to probe into certain concrete problems. Workers in the social sciences should go deep into reality, investigate and study, sum up experiences, create new theories, wherever possible put theories ahead of practical work, enable Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to progress, and in this way provide even more forceful guidance to the practice of the entire communist enterprise in our country. This is a glorious mission which we must undertake on our battlefield in social sciences. Our vast masses of workers in social sciences have played a good role, and achieved definite successes, in propagating and explaining the party's ideological line and political line, rectifying various kinds of erroneous tendencies and promoting socialist modernization and construction enterprises. What should be pointed out is that at present on the frontline

of social sciences there still exists a general and outstanding problem and that is, theory departing from reality. Some workers in social sciences have not devoted their main strength to studying and solving the big and important theoretical problems and practical problems met in socialist modernization construction. Some comrades have come to believe that only old-time pure theory which heavily departs from reality is worth studying and has a scholastic value. Some other comrades have the feeling that study of realistic problems is difficult and "may cause trouble"; hence they are cautious and are afraid of committing errors. Conditions of this kind illustrate that the present state of the social sciences in our region is far from being compatible with the gigantic tasks advocated at the 12th CPC National Congress or with the actual needs of our region. We hope that our comrades will guide their research in the right direction and take as the main theme the building of a socialist system with special Chinese characteristics. This is a demand of the times and a demand of reality.

Second, we must firmly insist on the Marxist stand and on the four basic principles.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has enforced the policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening the doors to the outside world. This policy has ended the status of closed doors and separating ourselves from the outside world, and along with actively developing external economic relations, has also actively promoted cultural exchanges with other countries. This has an important significance in widening our outlook, enriching our knowledge, and enlivening our thinking. We must be good at absorbing those things in science and culture in the capitalist world that possess scientific value and are of a progressive nature, so as to promote our theoretical research and our study of the social sciences. However, it must be clearly noted that under the conditions of our firm and irrevocable opening up of our foreign relations and enlivening the domestic economy, capitalist ideas will necessarily infiltrate into our midst. Under such circumstances, our workers in social sciences and comrades on the ideological front must remain clearheaded and firm on the Marxist stand. Speaking of the conditions in our region, some of the comrades have come under the influence of the liberalized ideas of the capitalist class. They favor the so-called democracy and freedom of the capitalist class and even go so far as to advocate dispensing with the party leadership. Some comrades are affected by Western philosophical ideology, particularly the influence of Sartre's existentialism, propagating that "all mankind is selfish," going after so-called "self-value" and "self-choice," and so on. Naturally, this is a problem that concerns only a minority of the people but all the same it cannot be ignored. Each and every social science worker must consciously strengthen the culture of his ideology and understanding, improve his ideological and political consciousness, maintain a Marxist stand, maintain and protect the four basic principles and, with flying colors, actively take up the ideological struggle against inclinations toward capitalist liberalized ideas and against the symptoms and phenomena of spiritual pollution. Only in so doing can we make our theoretical work and theoretical propagation progress along the Marxist track and can we truly serve socialist modernization construction.

Third, we must go into actual practice and sum up the next experiences of the masses.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party, with the theme of building socialism with special Chinese characteristics, has carried out a series of reforms. These are overall and penetrating reforms ranging from production forms to production relations and reaching from the economic foundation to the superstructure. In the course of these reforms, people's interests, activities, and method of thinking have continuously broken from the "customary routine" and come in contact with various new things and new lessons or problems. For example, the enforcement in the countryside of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output has brought enormous changes in the countryside and achieved enormous results. There are many good experiences which will require social science workers to personally go deep into the countryside, to investigate and study them along with the peasants, to sum up and theoretically expound them, and to prove their worth. In July and August this year, Comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Zhiyang, and other central leadership comrades took an inspection trip to Qinghai, Gansu, Xinjiang, Shaanxi, and other places and made a series of important talks, advocating the strategic policy of shifting, at the end of this century and the beginning of the next century, the focal point of economic construction to the great northwest. This not only pointed out the direction for economic work but also brought up research topics for the social science theoretical workers. For example: Such problems as how to use Ningxia's realities to formulate plans and programs related to the economic structure, the layout of the productive force, proportionate relationship between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry, relations between accumulation and consumption, and so on, all require repeated discussions and deliberations. They require a full-scale study and a clear determination as to which locality should be opened up first, which department should be developed first, and which project should be given first priority so as to put the superiority of our region into full play and to raise the economic results, thereby contributing to the development of Ningxia and the opening up of the great northwest.

Fourth, we must strengthen and improve the party's leadership over work in the social sciences.

Philosophy and social sciences are currently facing difficult and tedious tasks. The party must strengthen and improve its leadership over them. Starting from our regional party committee and our regional government, we must acquire a full understanding of the important role of the social sciences in the four modernizations, place social science work on the status which it deserves, and study and solve on time the big and important problems met with in the development of social science work in our region. Currently, there is a saying that socialist modernization cannot go without the technology of the natural sciences, but that it may not necessarily be so in the case of the social sciences. In the institutes of higher learning and middle schools, there is a tendency toward "stressing the sciences but neglecting the arts." Certain localities are inclined to maltreat social science workers in matters such as propagation of public opinion, their utilization and employment, their promotion, commendation, work assessment, and housing benefits, and the concern toward the delicate problem

of husband and wife living apart because their jobs are in different localities. This is an obvious drawback in our work. Socialist modernization aims at building a material civilization of a high plane. Without a doubt, building material civilization necessarily depends on the development of technology in the natural sciences. However, this is still inseparable from the development of the social sciences. This is because, in the social sciences, economics and the science of management as well as the borderline of marginal sciences and composite sciences formed through the natural sciences and the social sciences infiltrating into each other all directly render services to economic construction. This is also because the development of technology of the natural sciences itself must be guided by the laws espoused by philosophy and the natural sciences and by a scientific world outlook and methodology. Concurrently, with the building of a material civilization of a high plane, we must also build a socialist spiritual civilization of a high plane. As pointed out at the 12th CPC National Congress, a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the nucleus is the special feature of socialism and without this spiritual civilization socialism cannot be built. It can thus be seen that in socialist modernization, we cannot dispense with the social sciences, and it is not right to overlook their importance. Hence, party committees and governments at various levels must grasp the social sciences as strategic and vital points in realizing the objective of economic development. On their part, social science workers should exert their utmost efforts and make use of their outstanding accomplishments to attract the entire social structure to even more highly regard the social sciences and render them greater support, so that they can attain the development and improvement which they deserve and so that they can play an even greater role in socialist construction. In strengthening the party's leadership over social science work, it is also necessary to strengthen ideological building and organizational building among the ranks of social science workers. We should acquaint them with the guidelines and policies of the party Central Committee and of the State Council concerning theoretical work so that they may consciously maintain both political and ideological unanimity with the party Central Committee. We must constantly come to know and be concerned with their progress in ideology and the condition of their work and must therefore augment political ideological work. We must, in a planned manner, organize them to enter deep into reality, to do investigation and research, to continuously absorb rich nutrition, and to improve their level in political thought and in business knowledge. Those social science research personnel who have made notable accomplishments must be given high commendation. They should be boldly promoted to higher positions and be used well. At the same time, strengthening the party's leadership over the social sciences also requires good logistics support. At the moment, the problems that urgently require solution concern the supply or availability of books, magazines, reference materials, and information. The relevant departments should do their utmost to find solutions to these problems. As for the research funds for the social sciences, they should be properly ensured within certain limits and should be gradually increased, following development of the social sciences. We must also pay close attention to, and gradually solve, all those practical problems which the social science workers meet with in their work, in their studies, and in their living and treat them in the same manner as we treat other scientific personnel.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE CONGRESS CLOSES

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[Text] Beijing, 25 Dec (XINHUA)--The Fifth National Congress of the China Democratic League closed in Beijing today. The congress called on the league's organizations at all levels and its members to hold aloft the banner of patriotism, carry forward its glorious traditions, and forge ahead courageously to unite and reunify the motherland, to consolidate and develop the patriotic united front, and to create a new situation in all spheres of socialist modernization.

Among those present at the closing ceremony were executive chairmen of the congress Shi Liang, Peng Dixian, Sa Kongliao, Li Wenyi, Fei Xiaotong, Wen Jiasi, and Gao Tian.

During the 12-day congress, the delegates examined the work report of the league's Fourth Central Committee, revised and adopted "The Constitution of the China Democratic League," and elected the league's new Central Committee.

At today's session, the congress adopted five major resolutions. It emphatically pointed out that the league's main task in the future is: On the basis of summing up its experience in practice, the league is to further implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, create a new situation in the league's work, and make new contributions to the fulfillment of the three major tasks for the 1980's centered on economic construction.

Chu Tunan, executive chairman of the congress, presided over the closing ceremony. Hu Yuzhi, another executive chairman of the congress, delivered the closing speech. He said: During the new historical period in our country, comrades in our league must have a world view, face the future, and fully understand the historical missions we bear. Not only should we fulfill our own tasks, but we should also turn in the direction of society and serve the four modernizations in all possible ways, beginning with the fact that our league is a group of learned persons who are well versed in many scientific branches. He urged the league's organizations at all levels to merge their efforts and contribute their share to the popularization and improvement of education and other cultural undertakings in the country.



Hu Yuzhi stressed: Judging from current international and domestic developments, we are facing new circumstances in which a new industrial revolution has arrived. Comrades of our democratic league should give full play to their specialities to help the younger generation receive more education, while our comrades themselves should undergo the constant process of receiving reeducation. This means that, in Comrade Zhou Enlai's words, one is never too old to learn and to be transformed.

Also among those present at the closing ceremony were responsible persons of the CPPCC National Committee, the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, the various other democratic parties, and various mass organizations; they included Peng Jiesan, Li Ding, Lu Ping, Ye Zhishan, Zhao Zukang, Feng Tiyun, Lei Lieqiong, Yan Xinmin, Hao Zhichun, Huang Dingchen, Qian Fuxing, and Ye Boashan.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON HUMANISM, OTHER 'POLLUTION'

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["Part" of speech by Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211] at a conference on 19 November 1983: "On Humanism and Other Issues"--place not given; "with some abridgements by GUANGMING RIBAO; title added by editor"]

[Text] The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee decided on two important things: one was party rectification and the other was the eradication of spiritual pollution. Both of these are extremely important. Both of these matters are linked to our ability to construct the four modernizations and to the future and destiny of our party and our country. Everyone is very clear about the reasons for this and it is not worth repeating it too often. Here I only intend to discuss my opinions concerning the eradication of spiritual pollution in art and literature.

Spiritual pollution manifests itself in two main ways. One way is the dissemination of pornographic culture which incites sex and violence and poisons our youth or panders to the base tastes and desires in some people by means of common and vulgar things. "Looking toward money," which is to be found in the works of a small number of writers and artists, and product commercialization, both of which totally disregard social results, are also manifestations of this type of spiritual pollution. The other kind of spiritual pollution is the dissemination of bourgeois thinking in the form of theories, doctrines, art, literature, and so on. Thus the people are poisoned ideologically and are led to split away from and even oppose the party and socialism. The former form of spiritual pollution is easily recognizable by everyone and it also easily arouses indignation and as soon as it has been recognized by everyone, a cry goes up and it is easily rectified. In some cases it can be solved through administrative orders. The latter form of spiritual pollution, which takes a theoretical or academic form and which often attacks Marxism, is not so easily identifiable and, like white ants eating through a main beam, it permeates and exerts a subtle influence on people's thoughts which it is not easy to recognize, and in order to eradicate its influence long periods of ideological education are required, along with artistic and literary criticism and theoretical struggle.

I feel that among the latter kind of spiritual pollution, the kinds of thought which are disseminated most frequently and which are most successful in causing confusion and most influential are the following four kinds: 1) abstract humanism; 2) the so-called "theory of socialist alienation"; 3) existentialism; and 4) modernism. Not only do these appear in theoretical articles, but these thoughts have been propagated in many literary works and hence they are very influential with the masses, especially young people who lack the ability to discriminate. I would now like to consider some of my own rough ideas about these few areas.

There are two ways of criticizing these kinds of erroneous thoughts. One is to draw on the words of classical writers in a theoretical way so as to condemn these writers' distortions of Marxism, exposing their true colors as peddlers of the bourgeoisie under the trademark of Marxism. The other method is to denounce these things in a realistic way. The best example is the argument between Mr Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu. Liang Shiqiu advocated the idea that common human nature never changed. Mr Lu Xun's use of reality to refute his argument left a deep and lasting impression on me. Liang Shiqiu believed that any academic and literary writing involved human nature that never changed. He denied class nature and he opposed the expression of the class struggle in academic works. In his reply Mr Lu Xun said: What is this common human nature, where can it be found? How can old gentlemen, living in the wilds somewhere, growing orchids, know about the misery of the old lady in the streets of Peiping who picks out coal from the cinders? Which of the Lin Girls does Jiao Dahui of the Jia family love? It is really very hard to write about a common human nature which never changes. After looking everywhere there is probably one thing which we could say was a common factor in human nature which never changes and that is the act of sweating. All people from ancient times to the present day have sweated, but the sweat of the girl born with a silver spoon in her mouth is not the same as the sweat of the dock worker. The sweat of one is fragrant and the sweat of the other is malodorous. By using these moving real life examples Mr Lu Xun overturned Liang Shiqiu's idea about a common human nature which never changes. I would now like to study these methods used by Mr Lu Xun, drawing on reality to explain the errors of some comrades in advocating certain theories.

## I. Concerning Abstract Humanism

In recent years some people have been propagating abstract humanism and advocating some kind of "Marxist humanism," saying that "man is the starting point for Marxism," and thereby creating enormous confusion. Humanism first appeared during the European bourgeois literary and artistic Renaissance, some 500 or 600 years ago. It did make some progress toward opposing the feudal system and opposing the dark, religious rule of the Middle Ages. Thus we do not totally reject humanism. However, it must be recognized that the bourgeois call for humanism, no matter whether it was intentional or unintentional, (for some people did actually make this call in all sincerity) did in actual fact represent the demands and the interests of the bourgeoisie and was merely a form of deception of the exploited classes. The bourgeoisie enslaved all of Africa, taking blacks over to America to sell them as slaves. Those comrades who now advocate humanism

say "the common principle of humanism is the value of man," while as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, what is "the value of man?" It is really a mockery to say that the "value of man" is the amount of money for which one can sell a black slave! When we take a look at our own country, after the imperialists invaded China 100 years ago they killed many Chinese people and plundered enormous amounts of China's wealth. The film "The Burning of the Imperial Palace" brought out the reality of history, but only a very small part of it. I would suggest that everyone read Comrade Hu Sheng's book "From the Opium Wars to the 4 May Movement." He makes use of reality to explain in a very full way the incessant scheming of the imperialists and how they tried every way they could, resorting to plots and guns, in their attempts to partition and carve up China. One of the characteristics of this book is the way it draws on a great deal of material which is not found in most other books. For example, there is the correspondence and letters of the envoys and representatives of the imperialists sent to China, or other members of the invasional vanguard such as missionaries and explorers. These letters were sent to their governments and fully illustrate their sinister desire to carve up and digest China. There are also reports sent from emissaries of the Qing government who had been sent abroad, as well as orders given to them by the Qing government, which expose their weakness and timidity in going down on their knees in surrender to these foreigners. Hong Kong was taken by Britain in 1840 during the First Opium War. The imperial palace was burned to the ground by British and French troops in 1860 during the Second Opium War. Afterwards all that was left of this garden, which was once called the "king of gardens" was a few broken pieces of masonry, while the treasures in the imperial palace were all looted and pillaged by the troops. Even the French author Victor Hugo could not ignore what happened and he said "we Europeans are civilized and in our eyes the Chinese are barbarians, but have you seen what civilized man has done to the barbarians?"

At the very beginning Marx was a revolutionary democrat and was influenced by Feuerbach and did in actual fact endorse humanism. However, after he established his communist doctrine, he criticized the kind of thought which confused and merged socialism with humanism and was opposed to turning communism into "the ravings of love." At that time in Germany there existed a so-called "true socialism," which took communism and turned it into "the ravings of love" and took great delight in propagating the so-called love of mankind. Humanism takes an abstraction of man as its starting point and some of our comrades say "man is the starting point for Marxism." But let us take a look at how Marx mocked of [as printed] those attempts to erase all human differences under the word "man." He drew on sentence from "true socialism":

"In humanism all controversies of [word indistinct] are solved. Why divide up communism and socialism? We are human beings?"

Marx jokingly said of this: "Why divide up mankind, beasts, animals, plants, and stones? We are all material objects!"

What is interesting is that one of our comrades said in an article defending humanism, the shadow of a monster hesitating on the borders of knowledge....

"Who are you?"

"I am man."

What is being propagated here is abstract man, illusory man, and not concrete and real man. They say that the common principle of humanism is "the value of man." What we need to ask is, what is the man of whom you talk? A revolutionary, a patriot, a penal criminal, or an economic criminal? It is hard to believe that the value of all these men is the same. There is no abstract "value of man" in the real world.

Here there are a few questions which need to be answered.

1. Some people say that Marx was a humanist because Marx once said the proletariat not only had to emancipate itself but also all of mankind. Mao Zedong also spoke of this. It is true that in the end communism must emancipate all of mankind. But how should this emancipation occur? The first thing to be done is to rid the world of all exploitive systems and to eradicate the bourgeoisie, the very last of the exploitive classes (of course we are not talking about physical eradication, but eradication of the class). After the eradication of the system of private ownership and the realization of communism in a world where no one exploits anyone else, where all people are equal workers, then of course we may say that we have emancipated all of mankind. If the proletariat does not overthrow the bourgeois class system, then it cannot emancipate itself and there can then be no question of emancipating all of mankind. Engels said something extremely important in relation to this question. When he was young, Engels wrote "The Condition of the Working Class in England," a book full of warmth and respect for the working class, and in his later years Marx praised this book greatly. However, after Marx' death, in a foreword to the second German edition of this book in 1892, Engels modestly pointed out the places in the book which displayed his immaturity. He wrote: "The general theoretical viewpoints in this book concerning philosophy, economics, and politics are not at all the same as my present views. In 1844 the present international socialism still did not exist and after that time it was primarily, indeed almost entirely, due to Marx' efforts that it finally developed into a science. This book of mine was merely one stage of its embryonic development. Just as the human embryo at the very earliest stage of its development manifests the gills of our marine ancestry, everywhere in this book one can find traces of one of the ancestors of modern socialism, namely German classical philosophy." This quotation illustrates that neither Marx nor Engels were communists at the very beginning and that they did not create communism at the very beginning of their lives. Their theories of socialism and communism gradually developed into a science through practice. It was inevitable that their theories from their early years should bear traces of influence by former philosophers and thinkers. Today some of our comrades are following Western bourgeois academics and are stressing some of the things in Marx' early life and using these things from his early life to deny things from his later life and to deny his later mature theories of communism. It is very evident that Western bourgeois scholars have ulterior motives for doing this and those of our comrades who are following them are at the very least being duped. Engels went on to say:

"For example this book, particularly at the end, stresses the following thesis: Communism is not simply the doctrine of the political party of the working class, rather it is a theory, the ultimate aim of which is to liberate all of society, including the capitalists, from its present narrow sphere of relations. In abstract terms this is correct, but in practice and in the majority of cases it is not beneficial, indeed it can even be harmful. Since the [word indistinct] class not only feels no need to liberate itself, but also opposes with all its might the working class' liberation of itself, the working class should therefore simply prepare for and bring about social revolution.... Today there are still some people who, without bias, advocate to the workers a form of socialism which involves class struggle and class opposition above all else. If these kinds of people are really beginners in their studies then they represent a frightening enemy for the workers, they are indeed wolves in sheep's clothing."

This is what Engels wrote while pointing out the drawbacks to his book. He could not know that 100 years after the death of Marx, and more than 80 years after his own death, there would still be people distorting their views on the communist emancipation of all of mankind and describing Marx as an abstract humanist.

2. Some comrades believe that the reason Lin Biao and the "gang of four" inflicted such terrible suffering on many cadres and intellectuals was because in the past there was no propagation of humanism, indeed it was criticized, and thus today we must talk about it and propagate it. This is apparently right, but in actual fact it is incorrect. As we all know the "gang of four" was a scheming clique which usurped the party and seized power and our opposition to it was a life or death class opposition. The creation of this clique was the result of many historical factors but in no way was it connected to the lack of propagation of humanism. It was the minority who joined in with the "gang of four" and who did such odious and evil deeds, while the vast majority of the people were good, and while some people began to experience confusion, it was very quick and easy to see through their masks. Proof of this was the Tiananmen incident. Before the "Cultural Revolution" there was no propagation of humanism, but during those 17 years the [word indistinct] of society was very good, was it not? Were not the prevailing morals of the people very high? Did not the whole world praise the lofty moral character of the Chinese people? Are not some criminal elements that are to be found today extremely cruel and ruthless toward the people? Not long ago Comrade Ke Yan gave me a book of hers which described life in a work-study school. She understood the situation in the school very well and she wrote "young criminals during those 17 years were very different from today's young criminals. Most young criminals during those 17 years felt disgraced and so it was fairly straightforward to save them. Today many young criminals do not feel this way, they simply do not care. What is the reason for this? It is because we have not propagated humanism? No. The main reason is that they have been affected by the poison of the "gang of four." And the rest is simply ignorance, a lack of education in our country's history, culture, and so on. This is also the result of the "gang of four." In addition they have been influenced by foreign pollution and this has given rise to ideas of selfishness and greed, extreme individualism, and anarchy. Nor can we say that this has nothing to do with the propagation of bourgeois liberalization and spiritual pollution in theoretical and literary circles over recent years.

3. Another thesis: Are we not always talking of "revolutionary humanism?" Why then is it not right to propagate humanism? What the advocates of this thesis forget is that there has never in the whole world ever been a form of abstract humanism which overrides time and class. We are Marxists. We fully endorse the developmental role of capitalist humanism in history but we must maintain an alert awareness of its true class nature. We talk of revolutionary humanism, but revolutionary humanism has its limits, revolutionary humanism cannot be applied everywhere. When our enemy lays down its arms, we heal the wounded and rescue the dying, we do not snatch their purses, curse them, or humiliate them. But we cannot practice humanism with the enemy with which we are fighting hand to hand on the field. Even capitalists and feudalists do not do this, for those who oppose their repression are captured or put to death. In addition another manifestation of revolutionary humanism is a disregard for a person's class origins or political attitude when treating that person as a sick patient, everyone thus receiving medical treatment.

Revolutionary humanism is centered around historical materialism and it also manifests itself in a revolutionary proletarian concern for the interests of the working people, in the socialist state's and socialist society's absolute concern for the interests of the majority of the people, and in the majority of the people, and in the majority of the people's concern for mutual and common interests. There is no way that bourgeois humanism can ever manifest itself in these ways.

Naturally, it should be admitted that there are some truly sincere humanists in the world. For example when some capitalist thinkers call for humanism, they do so not in a hypocritical way, but with true sincerity, but their humanitarian ideals can never be achieved in the capitalist world. Thus some of the truly sincere humanists (such as the late Romain Rolland) will always eventually move toward socialism or become friends of socialism, placing their hopes in socialism. Although the humanism of these truly sincere humanists can never be realized, they are opposed to ruthless and bloody rule and they feel for the oppressed peoples of the world and thus they are the friends of the people. We should respect them and unite with them and they can become allies of the proletariat. The proletariat should have many allies, it should not be isolated.

## II. Concerning Alienation

In simple terms alienation occurs when, under certain conditions, a person creates certain things and those things become an alienated force in opposition to him and that person thus falls under its command. This is alienation. The clearest example would be God, who was originally thought up by man. Later man prayed before this God and came under God's command. This is what Feuerbach was referring to when he said "God is the alienation of man's true nature." Feuerbach used the theory of alienation to criticize religion and he proposed the elimination of this alienation and the restoration of man's true nature to himself. Marx also used the concept of alienation to explain the condition of worker exploitation in capitalist society. In capitalist society the working class produces products and the result is that these products become a force

which is in opposition to the workers and which commands them. The more the workers produce, the poorer they become and the greater the force oppressing them. This is called work alienation. Why does this kind of alienation occur? It is very obvious. Let us take the example of God. The reason man created God and prayed before him was because man lacked knowledge of the natural sciences and the social sciences and because man had not as yet come to understand the various laws of natural and social phenomena. They were unable to understand correctly the various disasters and forms of suffering that nature and society could bring about and so they thought up God, believing that all this was God's punishment, and they prayed for God's blessing and protection. As man's scientific knowledge increases and he is able to understand correctly natural and social phenomena, and when he has discovered their causes and laws, this kind of alienation will be wiped out. Many people in China believed in gods when they were small, but with scientific knowledge they ceased to believe. Work alienation in capitalist society exists because the workers cannot own the products which they produce, rather these products are owned by the capitalists, while within each product there is a certain amount of surplus value and the capitalists rely on this surplus value, created by the exploited workers, to develop their capital and to expand their power. Hence the greater the surplus value created by the workers, the greater the proliferation of capital, and the greater the proliferation of capital, the greater the strength of the capitalist class in oppressing the workers. Thus work alienation is a product of the exploitive system and only by wiping out the exploitive system can the phenomenon of work alienation be wiped out.

In his early years Marx used the concept of "alienation" because at that time the concept was very popular in German philosophical circles. Marx also used this concept because it was easily understood. However, later on Marx used the term very little. In "Das Kapital" it is only used to explain the phenomenon of capitalist work alienation and it is not used to explain anything else. However, some of our comrades say that the theory of alienation is central to the theory of Marxism and that it is the most important thesis of all. This simply does not tally with the facts. We all know that Engels was Marx' closest comrade-in-arms and Engels' speech before Marx' tomb, after his death, is very famous, and he made the most accurate assessment of Marx. He said that Marx two greatest achievements during his life were his discovery of the developmental laws of human history, namely historical materialism, and of the unique laws of movement of modern capitalist society, and his creation of the theory of surplus value. These were Marx' two greatest discoveries, and the theory of alienation was not even mentioned. Lenin was the greatest master of Marxism and he clearly outlined the three sources and three component parts of the theory of Marxism, but nor did he mention alienation. Should we believe Engels and Lenin or should we believe the distortions and misinterpretations of some Western capitalist scholars or of some of our own comrades? I think we should still believe Engels and Lenin.

Marx made it very clear that work alienation was a product of special historical conditions, that it was temporary, and that it would not exist forever. However, some of our comrades believe it to be in perpetual and universal existence.



Thus they bring up the thesis of "socialist alienation," saying that in socialist society, alienation exists in every sphere, including ideology, politics, and economics. According to their thesis, the study of Marxism could become dogmatism or it could create a cult of the individual and this they refer to as ideological alienation. The seizing of political power by the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat could result in this power becoming a bureaucratic organization which oppresses the proletariat, and this they refer to as political alienation. They see economic alienation as the imperfect construction of socialism, which causes the destruction of ecological balance and causes us all to suffer. If all these theses are true then alienation is present everywhere in socialism. One writer proposed making human alienation under socialism the major theme of scholarly literature and thus many works appeared which described this so-called "socialist alienation." Of, according to the proponents' theories, socialism engenders alienation and everything is changed into its opposite, then what are we doing still building socialism? Surely there is no need to struggle for socialism? What is the point of art and literature serving socialism? Their theories of alienation can only lead to these kinds of conclusions. This will inevitably unnerve the people's faith in socialism while in art and literature it makes some writers simply look at the dark side of our society, believing that it is an inevitable product of socialist society and that there is no way of eradicating it. Clearly this kind of theory is incorrect, and extremely damaging. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed this out very clearly.

Last year was the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Speeches at the Yanan Art and Literature Forum," and a forum was held in commemoration. At the last session one responsible comrade made a speech, the title of which was: persevere first, develop second. However, in the speech he did not make it clear what we should persevere in and what we should develop today, instead he talked more of alienation. He believed that alienation was not only a social phenomenon, it also had universal existence in the natural world. He drew on the example of "spinning a web around oneself." He believed that the silkworm's production of silk and its subsequent death as a result of the cocoon it spins around itself is an example of alienation in the natural world. At the time I was not in agreement with him and his example. I said at the forum that the silkworm did not spin a cocoon so as to ensure and kill itself, it did so to protect itself and to permit the continuation of the species. The phrase "spinning a web around oneself" is a phrase which literary writers use to describe this natural phenomenon, and it is not a scientific thesis. The silkworm spins a cocoon in which to preserve itself and later it changes into a pupa and then a moth, whereupon it breaks out of the cocoon and the species has been preserved. So where is the alienation in that? When this talk was published later, the idea of "spinning a web around oneself" was upheld as a form of natural alienation, but in parenthesis it had been added that it also had the sense of self-preservation. But is this not surely self-contradictory? If it is self-preservation, then it is not alienation. How can it be used as proof of the universal existence of alienation in the natural world?

### III. Concerning Existentialism

Existentialism is a philosophical trend which has become very popular in the Western capitalist classes during this century. It is said that its creator was a German philosopher called Heidegger. The Frenchman Sartre went to Berlin to study his theories and thus developed existentialism, and so later on Sartre became the representative of existentialism.

Sartre was a French scholar and philosopher and also a social activist, and he died 3 years ago at the age of 75. He was famous throughout the West and indeed the whole world and many people worshipped him. The reason for this was that his philosophical ideas reflected or represented the ideals and feelings of some people in the Western capitalist countries. The main tenet of Sartre's philosophy is the theory of "existence prior to intrinsic nature." What is "existence prior to intrinsic nature?" Sartre believed that there are two kinds of existence. One is "existence in itself" and the other is "existence for itself." The so-called "existence in itself" implies existence which has always existed before man discovered it. In this respect this kind of existence has certain elements of materialism incorporated into it, in that it acknowledges that the objective world is independent and external to man's consciousness, and existed before man discovered it. However, Sartre also believed that the outside world was disorganized and unsystematic, haphazard, absurd, lacking in causality, necessity, and development, and that it would always exist in a pure and absolute form, without any laws or rules. Thus he believed that the outside world had no intrinsic nature and no significance and it was only given an intrinsic nature and significance when the activities of man's consciousness came into contact with it. In other words the causality, necessity, and regularity of the outside world are not inherent in the outside world itself, they are bestowed on it by man, they are not objective, they are subjective, it is man who gives the outside world its causality and its intrinsic nature. This then is the theory of "existence prior to intrinsic nature." In these terms it is very clearly subjective materialism. The so-called "existence for itself" implies the self-existence of man and his activities of the consciousness. Sartre believed that this "existence for itself" and "existence in itself" were different. "Existence for itself" was dynamic and active and was able to constantly recreate and develop itself. As for the existence of the outside world, it had no creativity and did not develop.

This starting point thus engendered the other important principle of existentialism, namely the theory of "free choice." This is an important integral part of the ideological system of existentialism. Sartre believed that the world was absurd and reality ugly and detestable, and that life had no meaning. How was one to get out of this? The answer was self-choice, self-design, and self-creation. Man planned and decided his own future. Sartre believed that while external conditions could restrict a man's personal freedom, it could not in any way fetter man's freedom of thought. He believed that freedom was the main attribute of man's intrinsic nature. "The value of man must be proved and determined by man's own actions and the most important thing of all is one's actions." "Man is free, a coward makes himself cowardly, a hero

becomes a hero." In other words, everything is determined by oneself with free choice, for man's freedom of thought is absolute. For example, a slave under oppression can make the choice to escape and he may choose not to escape, but his choice not to escape is also a freedom of choice, because he has "chosen not to choose."

Sartre also believed that independent, individual existence is true freedom, that other people hinder individual freedom, and that each person is only absolutely free when he is opposing other people. He even believed that "hell is other people." Only in solitary desperation and the wait for the "consciousness of misfortune" does man discover his own true existence. This is really an extreme form of individualist thinking. There was also a popular form of thinking among Chinese university students at one time, referred to as "self-design of oneself." And this was taken from Sartre's philosophy of existentialism.

Existentialism is a petit bourgeois form of intellectual philosophy in Western capitalist society, and it represents the ideals of the middle and petit bourgeoisie who, in capitalist society, suffer under the domination, oppression, and duping of the monopoly capitalists. Many of them were and are dissatisfied with the capitalist world, but in no way do they oppose the capitalist system. They take the major contradiction in capitalist society, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and change it into a contradiction between the individual and society. Thus Sartre's ideas are full of contradictions. His philosophy has some elements of materialism but this is mainly subjective materialism. Sometimes his works expose the gloom and evil of capitalist society, such as in "The Respectful Prostitute," which exposed racial prejudice in capitalist society. But he also wrote some anti-communist plays in which he described the communist party as a terrorist clique carrying out political assassination, such as "Dirty Hands," (Once Performed in Shanghai). The free choice and self-design which he advocated could do no damage to the bourgeoisie, but it could destroy the collectivism of the proletariat, making people extreme individualists. Thus the bourgeoisie did not, nor does not, oppose existentialism, rather the middle and petit bourgeoisie are able to seek comfort from the theory, revelling in their fantasies of so-called free choice and self-design. But it was and is damaging to the proletariat, who must use the strength of collectivism and really struggle to change the old world. It is even more damaging to bring this extreme form of individualist thought, which is divorced from the people and from reality, into China.

In conclusion, Sartre was a man full of contradictions. As far as his activities are concerned, he took part in the struggle to oppose fascism and was also sympathetic toward the Chinese revolution, and he refused to accept the Nobel Prize, looking on it with scorn. Thus we should confirm those parts of Sartre's thinking which were advanced but we cannot in any way endorse those things which should not be endorsed and we should not blindly accept his materialist, extreme individualist, and anticommunist thinking.

#### IV. Concerning Modernism

In recent years, quite a few people in artistic and literary circles have proposed that Chinese art and literature take the road of Western modernism, in the belief that Western modernist art and literature are products of modernization and that if we want to carry out modernization, then we must also ensure modernism in art and literature. In actual fact, this is a total miscomprehension of the facts. Western modernist art and literature are not products of modernization, they emerged in the late 19th century, thus nearly 100 years ago. There are various schools within modernist art and literature, such as futurism (mainly manifested in music and poetry), the school of the absurd, (mainly manifested in the theater), cubism and abstractism (mainly seen in art), and so on. As one becomes popular, another falls, and there are many schools but in general they may all be classed as modernism or the modernist school. While it comprises many different parts, they all have one common characteristic, a departure from reality and from the people and the proposition of "self-expression." All of them contain the belief that art and literature do not reflect real life, but self-feeling. This is a subjective materialist form of artistic and literary thought which is opposed to realism, and in this sense it is the same as existentialism.

The relationship between the Western bourgeoisie and realism can be divided into three periods. The first period was from the 14th and 15th century artistic and literary Renaissance until the French Revolution, and during this period the Western bourgeoisie was opposing feudal oppression and religious rule. During this period the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class and many writers and artists within the bourgeoisie, such as Da Vinci, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Diderot, Beaumarchais, and so on were all realists. Their works reflected the lives and aspirations of the rising stratum of ordinary citizens, and satirized and exposed the feudal nobles, showing the victory of ordinary citizens over the nobles and the former's greater intelligence and talents (such as "The Marriage of Figaro"). At this time the bourgeoisie needed realism and many of these writers and artists were themselves bourgeois revolutionaries, directly involved in revolutionary struggle. The second stage was from after the French Revolution (Marx believed that the French Revolution was the absolute victory of the bourgeois revolution) until the end of the 19th century. This period reflected the dark side of capitalist society and saw the exposure of such things as money ruling all, mutual cheating and outwitting, and the cold-blooded lack of feeling between people. In art and literature a school of artists and writers critical of realism emerged, such as Balzac, Zola, Tolstoy, and others. This so-called criticism of realism involved the exposure and criticism of capitalism, but these writers were not fundamentally opposed to the capitalist system nor were they traitors to the bourgeoisie. As Gorky said, they were loafers of the bourgeoisie and, in the final analysis, they still protected the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie at this time was fairly self-confident and did not fear this kind of exposure and thus this kind of realism was still permitted to exist. Just as Engels said, this art and literature, critical of realism, was able to smash the illusions of capitalism, smash the [word indistinct] of the bourgeois world, and stir up doubt in the people about the perpetual nature

of the existing rules of capitalism and thus this kind of literature was beneficial to the proletariat. The third period was from the end of the 19th century until the present day, when the capitalist world is embroiled in crises, spiritual life is totally empty, and all of society is cold-blooded and lacking in warm feeling. During this period the bourgeoisie on the one hand, has feared the exposure of its darkness by realist art and literature, since it no longer has this kind of self-confidence any more, and, on the other hand, some writers and artists to emerge from the middle and petit bourgeoisie feel despair for the capitalist world but lack the courage and the aspirations to change this world, and thus all they can do is escape from reality, anaesthetizing themselves and complaining from within their illusions and fantasies. Naturally this kind of art and literature is of no harm to the capitalist system and thus the bourgeoisie makes great efforts to preserve and praise it. This, then, is the so-called modernist art and literature.

This kind of art and literature, which is divorced from reality and sunk in illusions and fantasy, was described very well by Luncharski: "Fantasy, whether in the form of religion, or in the form of thought, always divorces one from life. Go and deny the world then! The bourgeoisie will not make a move to stop you, as long as you don't destroy them. The bourgeoisie won't harm you on that account. There are thousands of other calls to take part in the real life struggle, to take part in the struggle using force against force. You can go and chitchat, leave life and go and lie down in the salon, go and lie down in the office, drug yourself and indulge in your fantasies, it all sounds so honorable!"

Some people in China want to introduce into our socialist country these theories of modernist art and literature, which are already on the brink of decline in Western capitalist society and which have not been welcomed by the people, saying that we should copy their methods of artistic and literary creation, but this is an error of this era. It is in contravention of the revolutionary direction and nationalistic tradition of China's art and literature. It is a minority who are advocating modernist art and literature in China and they have been influenced by capitalist artistic and literary thought and blindly worship and copy all those things, and thus this is a question of ideological understanding. But it should also be realized that some people (and they are by no means true artists) have other intentions and they are using abstract art and literature to conceal their attacks on the party and their attacks on socialism and in some cases has even reached a very obvious extent, and we cannot ignore it.

The questions discussed above are those which have been discussed most and with most energy during the last few decades in Western bourgeois society. Those involved in these discussions and debates have often used the banner of Marxism, saying that their beliefs are Marxist beliefs. There are three stages in the bourgeois treatment of Marxism. In the beginning they tried to avoid mentioning Marx and his theories in an attempt to smother Marxism. Later, when this did not work, they publicly attacked and cursed Marxism, and today they know even

cursing Marxism will not work, so they resort to distortions and misinterpretations of Marxism so that not only does Marxism become something that the proletariat can accept, it also becomes something that it is of benefit for the proletariat to accept. The shame of it is that some of our comrades have been influenced by them and are disseminating theories which are distortions of Marxism, and this is very hurtful to see.

Our art and literature is socialist art and literature and its task is to unite and educate the people and not to split and pollute the people. During this round of the struggle to wipe out spiritual pollution, let us temper and improve ourselves and units on the basis of the four fundamental principles, working hard to make creation flourish, and making even greater contributions toward improving the spiritual morals of the people and encouraging the people's fighting consciousness, so that we may construct a powerful and strong socialist homeland.

CSO: 4005/370

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RECORD NUMBER OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TO BE ENROLLED

OW200144 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1245 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Report by Yang Jianye]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Jan (XINHUA)--This reporter has learned from the National Conference on College Enrollment, which opened in Beijing today, that in 1984 colleges and technical secondary schools of all categories plan to enroll some 1 million and 1.3 million students respectively. This is the largest enrollment since the founding of new China.

The specific enrollment figures planned by the two kinds of schools mentioned above are as follows: graduate students, 23,500, 51.6 percent more than last year; students of full-time regular colleges, 430,000, 10 percent more than the 390,000 enrolled last year; adult colleges, 540,000 students, including 230,000 people of the radio and TV universities, 31.5 percent more than last year; technical secondary schools, 500,000 students, 4.6 percent more than last year; adult technical secondary schools, 800,000 students, 82.2 percent more than last year.

Addressing the meeting, Huang Xinbai, vice minister of education, said: Fulfillment of this year's enrollment plans will mean achievement of the enrollment targets set in China's Sixth 5-Year Plan 1 year ahead of schedule. It will also mean that after schools open in the fall of 1984, the number of students in China's colleges and technical secondary schools will be the largest since the founding of new China. The total enrollment in full-time regular colleges is expected to reach 1,353,000; adult colleges, 1,183,000; technical secondary schools, 1.25 million; and adult technical secondary schools, 1.3 million.

Huang Xinbai said: In order to make higher education better serve the needs of the four modernizations, the Education Ministry will continue to reform this year's enrollment work. He emphasized that to guarantee sustained development of China's higher education and technical secondary education in the 1980's all localities, departments and schools should strive to raise the quality of new students while doing everything possible to overcome hardships and fulfill this year's enrollment task.

This meeting was called by the Education Ministry. It will study ways to continue to reform 1984 college enrollment work, discuss the relevant regulations on enrollment and make specific plans for this year's enrollment work for colleges and technical secondary schools.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EDUCATION MINISTRY ISSUES SCHOOL REGULATIONS

OW072222 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0813 GMT 6 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 6 Jan (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Education recently issued a "10-point regulation for full-time regular middle schools to implement the party's educational policies in an all-round way and correct the tendency to unduly stress increased rates of admission into higher schools (draft for trial implementation)" and issued a circular on this matter to the various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and education departments of ministries and commissions of the State Council concerned.

The circular points out that one-sided stress on increasing the rates of admission into higher schools refers to the drive to get bigger percentages of students into higher education by adopting erroneous ways in violation of the party's educational policies and the laws governing education and teaching, paying attention only to entering a higher school, neglecting the training of a reserve labor force, and ignoring the all-round demand on school education by the socialist modernization drive. The practice is very harmful. It adversely affects the students' all-round sound development morally, intellectually and physically, neglects the training and education of the vast majority of students, and brings enormous mental pressure on school cadres, teachers, and students.

The circular calls on education departments and schools to fully understand their own responsibilities, follow the correct guiding ideology in running schools, take a positive attitude, adopt practical and effective measures, solidly improve the quality of education, and firmly correct and resist the erroneous tendency to one-sidedly pursue higher rates of admission into higher schools.

The main content of the "10-point regulation for full-time regular middle schools to implement the party's educational policies in an all-round way and correct the tendency to unduly stress increased rates of admission into higher schools (draft for trial implementation)" is as follows:

1. It is necessary to implement the party's educational policies in an all-round way. While it is necessary to provide qualified new students for higher schools, special attention should at present be paid to training a large reserve force of fine workers so that school education will better meet the requirements of socialist modernization. Don't stress only admission into higher schools



to the neglect of the training of a reserve labor force; don't stress only examination marks to the neglect of moral education, physical culture and training in basic knowledge and skills; don't pay attention only to a few to the neglect of many; don't pay attention only to the graduating class to the neglect of the other classes; and don't pay attention only to the senior middle school to the neglect of the junior middle school.

2. It is necessary to properly guide and comprehensively evaluate the work of schools. To judge whether a school is well run, it is mainly to see whether it is implementing the party's educational policies in an all-round way and holding itself responsible to all the students. From the national to the local level, a determined effort should be made to put an end to the practice of ranking schools according to the performance of their graduates in entrance examinations to higher schools; no targets on number of students to enter higher schools should be assigned to places and schools; and rewards and punishments of schools and teachers should not be decided one-sidedly according to percentages of students admitted into higher schools alone.

3. Courses should be opened strictly according to the education plans issued by the Ministry of Education or the education departments (bureaus) of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Don't eliminate or reduce certain courses in order to deal with entrance examinations to higher schools. Don't just establish courses that are included in entrance examinations of institutions of higher education.

4. It is necessary to strengthen the ideological and political education of students. Comments on a graduate's conduct should truthfully reflect his thinking and moral character. It is necessary to strictly follow the fixed requirements in evaluating three-good students and outstanding student cadres and in recruiting CYL members. Backward students should be helped warmly and not discriminated against or forced to quit or transfer to another school without cause.

5. The excessively heavy study burdens on students should be reduced. Junior middle schools and senior middle schools, without approval by education departments at and above the county and prefectural levels respectively, may not increase class hours at will or wind up courses ahead of schedule. The education and guidance offices are responsible for the unification, coordination, and balanced arrangement of homework, which should be limited to 1 1/2 hours daily for junior middle schools and 2 hours daily for senior middle schools.

6. It is necessary to guarantee students time for sleep, rest and after school sports, cultural and recreational, scientific and technological activities. School leadership should have persons specifically responsible for physical culture and health care. Junior middle school students should have 9 hours of sleep each day, and senior middle school students 8 hours each day. On the average, there should be 1 hour of sports activities daily. During winter and summer vacations, rest should be guaranteed, and as a principle there should be no supplementary classes. Students who have to take make-up examinations may be given necessary instructions, but the time should not exceed one-third of the number of days of the vacation, and not exceed 3 hours per day on the average.

7. It is necessary to strengthen an on going understanding of the students' progress in study, and not to give frequent examinations. In each term there should be only one mid-term and one end-of-term examination or check, and the number of subjects in each examination should not be too many. Graduation examinations will cover only the courses taken in the current school year. Except for entrance and graduation examinations (including examinations at the completion of a course), no unified examinations under any name should be held without approval by the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional education departments (bureaus). Examination questions should not go beyond the requirements set forth by the teaching program and the textbooks.

8. It is necessary to guarantee normal teaching order in schools. Schools may not run full-time make up classes for admission into higher schools. They may not accept graduates of past years to join the current graduating class for study, or allow them to enter their names for entrance examinations of higher schools as graduates of the current year, or issue them false certificates on their schooling and so forth.

9. Educational research institutions at various levels should concentrate their main efforts on educational research work and may not organize under any name to guess or predict examination questions, conduct simulated tests and so forth. No unit or individual is allowed to compile and publish collections of questions, exercise books, review materials, and so forth aimed to cope with entrance examinations.

10. Education departments at various levels and schools must firmly enforce the above-mentioned regulations and have the duty to energetically publicize them to with wide support from society and parents. Those who have violated the above-mentioned regulations should be educated and urged to correct their mistakes and should not be rated as advanced units or individuals. Those whose cases are serious and stubbornly refuse to change their ways despite education should be criticized, have their cases circulated, or punished. If higher organizations and leadership violate the requirements and practices stipulated in the above-mentioned regulations, the education departments, schools, and teachers have the duty to raise objections, resist them and bypass them, and report to the next higher authorities. If this brings retaliation, the education departments should report to party committees and governments so that measures will be taken to handle the cases seriously.

CSO: 4005/370

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LEADING CADRES TO BE YOUNGER IN AVERAGE AGE

OW221744 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1528 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Beijing, 20 Jan (XINHUA)--Directors and party committee secretaries of large and medium-sized enterprises should become persons with higher educational background as soon as possible, said Li Rui, deputy director of CPC Central Committee's Organizational Department, at the 20 January regular meeting on enterprise consolidation among all departments under the State Council. By 1985, directors and party committee secretaries of all of China's 3,000 large and medium-sized key enterprises should have had college-level education, he said.

Li Rui continued: Central leading comrades recently pointed out that although very good results were achieved in readjusting enterprises' leading bodies, they were not ideal yet. We must resolutely select cadres who are politically reliable, professionally proficient, in their prime of life and enterprising to be directors and party committee secretaries. This is vital. Without doing so, it is hardly possible to create a new situation.

Li Rui said: Investigations conducted in some provinces and municipalities show that about one-half of the leading party and administrative cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises whose leading bodies have been readjusted are still quite old and rather low in educational background, especially secretaries and deputy secretaries of enterprise party committees.

Li Rui pointed out: A reexamination should be made of these readjusted enterprise leading bodies, plans formulated for their further improvement and, in particular, for training third-echelon cadres so as to consolidate and expand the results of enterprise consolidation. At the same time, attention should be focused on readjusting the leading bodies of medium-sized and small enterprises. As the number of these widely scattered enterprises is huge, all localities and departments must assign persons to take charge of this task on a full-time basis, strengthen their leadership, set forth specific criteria and requirements, and strive to complete the readjustment task in the first half of this year but no later than the third quarter.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NIE RONGZHEN ENCOURAGES CARE FOR OLD PEOPLE

HK120917 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 83 p 1

[Report: "Nie Rongzhen Writes a Letter to CHANGSHOU Journal Urging Studying and Solving Problems of Old People"]

[Text] Nie Rongzhen recently wrote a letter to CHANGSHOU [LONG LIFE] journal, saying that old people are a precious treasure of society and an indispensable intellectual force in building the socialist motherland and are capable of creating an incalculable wealth for society. At the same time, he pointed out that old people must study diligently, update their knowledge, pay attention to major affairs at home and abroad, and continue to transform their world outlook, so that their "residual heat" will continue to glow and bring credit to the country.

The letter will be carried in issue No 1 of CHANGSHOU, 1984. Text of the letter follows:

CHANGSHOU Editorial Department:

CHANGSHOU journal started publications 3 years ago! In the past 3 years, you have not only spread general scientific knowledge of how to prevent and cure illnesses among old people and told them what they should do to lead a healthy, long life, you have also helped old people to enrich their recreational lives and to take positive steps to prolong their lives and keep in good health. They have a good opinion of you and want specially to extend to you their hearty congratulations!

At present, China has a population of more than 80 million above the age of 60. It is estimated that this population will grow to 130 million by the end of this century. It is and will be the largest of similar populations of all countries. What should we do to protect the just rights and benefits of such a great number of old people so that they are well cared for, can keep on learning, and will accomplish some feats and enjoy healthy, long lives? This is not only a very complicated social problem, but also a very important problem of the natural sciences. For this reason, we must assiduously study

gerontology and geriatrics. We must extensively carry out propaganda under the unified leadership of the party and the government, so that all will fully understand the importance of the problems of old age and the urgency with which these problems should be solved. The whole society should be aroused to show concern for and solve the problems of the aged. The organizations concerned should seriously study the problems of old age by taking them as strategic problems. They should draw up plans as early as possible to cope with the deepgoing social, economic, and political effects of the aging population in our country, and work in cooperation with each other to handle the problems in an all-round manner.

The old people are a precious treasure of society. They have made tremendous contributions and performed meritorious, unforgettable deeds in the cause of the liberation and construction of our motherland. They have accumulated rich experience and extensive, profound knowledge in the course of the protracted revolution, of the struggle for production, and of scientific experiment. As they become old and because of health reasons, they cannot fight in the forefront. However, as far as their experience and capability as leaders are concerned, they are more than a match for most of the young people. For this reason, the old people are absolutely not a "burden" but are an indispensable intellectual force in the construction of our socialist motherland and are capable of creating an incalculable wealth for society. They ought to be thought highly of, cared for, and respected by others.

We old people must study diligently, update our knowledge, pay attention to major affairs at home and abroad, and continue to transform our world outlook. In our daily lives, we should take good care of ourselves. We must exert ourselves to practice restraint in eating and drinking, lead a regular life, wear clothes appropriately according to the weather, keep ourselves in a cheerful frame of mind, take precautions against illness, promptly seek medical treatment in case of illness, and strike a proper balance between work and rest, so that we can live healthy, long lives and our "residual heat" will continue to glow and bring credit to the country. This is a common experience of many old people. Let us encourage each other to attain this goal.

Finally, I wish CHANGSHOU greater success in helping old people lead healthy lives.

Salutations!

Nie Rongzhen

December 1983.

CSO: 4005/370

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO TAIPING REVOLUTIONARY'S IDEAS

HK180728 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Fang Zhiguang [2455 0037 0342] and Cui Zhiqing [1508 0037 3237]:  
"On Hong Xiuquan's Patriotic and Revolutionary Ideas"]

[Text] January 11, 1984, is the 170th anniversary of the birth of Hong Xiuquan, the peasant revolutionary of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

With regard to the historical merits and mistakes of Hong Xiuquan, there are still comparatively great differences of opinion in the historical circles. Lenin pointed out: "The judgment of historical merits should not be based on things which are required by modern times but which were not provided by the historical activists, but should be based on things provided by the historical activists which were new in comparison with the things previously provided by their predecessors. When compared with the contributions of the outstanding figures of his time or before his time, one of the new historical contributions of Hong Xiuquan was his linking of the peasant revolutionary ideology with the antifeudal, antiaggression patriotism in recent history, thereby initiating the first revolutionary upsurge in recent history and unfolding the glorious prelude to the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution.

#### The Formation of the Patriotic and Revolutionary Ideas of Hong Xiuquan

After the Opium War, the Chinese people experienced the dual oppression and exploitation by foreign capitalism and internal feudalism, and the patriotic and revolutionary ideas of Hong Xiuquan were precisely the product of the new period. In addition, the great antifeudal and antiaggression struggle of China's peasant class was the primary prerequisite for forming the ideology of Hong Xiuquan. The times, the class, and the creative and arduous exploration and revolutionary practice of Hong Xiuquan himself were the three closely related basic links in the formation of the patriotic and revolutionary ideology of his eminent personage.

Hong Xiuquan was an educated person from a peasant family. His home village was in Huaxian, Guangdong, which was only 100 li from Guangzhou, the frontline of the Opium War. The vicious opium trade of the foreign aggressors, the mighty opium prohibition movement led by Lin Zexu, the atrocity of the British troops during the war of aggression, the signing of the humiliating Treaty of Nanking

as a result of the corruption and surrender of the Qing government, and the tremendous armed struggle against the British with the peasants of Sanyuanli as the representative force--all these left an unforgettable impression on the young Hong Xiuquan and planted the seeds of opposing aggress-on and feudalism deep in the heart of the young man. It was precisely the turbulent times that gave birth to this eminent patriot who would shoulder the heavy responsibility which was once arduous and glorious.

Hong Xiuquan did not realize at the start the task entrusted to him by the times. Like the average educated youth at that time, he took part in the official examinations on different occasions in a bid to obtain some official rank so as to bring honor to his ancestors and, like Lin Zexu, to do something good for the nation and the people. But he failed in all his attempts to pass the examination. His own setbacks, mingled with the sufferings of the country and the nation, give him a very great mental shock. He maintained that the corrupt and oppressive Qing Dynasty was a tumor in the body of the motherland and the people which was a cause for disasters leading to the weakness and poverty of the country and the subsequent aggression by the foreign powers and which was also a hindrance to his own career. In his conversations with Hong Rengan and others, Hong Xiuquan and others all "expressed their lofty ideas on the current event" and accused the Qing government of "wasting tens of millions of taels of gold and silver on opium and millions of taels on cosmetics and ornamental objects," and "this situation has existed for 200 years. In this way, for the people of China, how can the rich not become poor and the poor not disobey orders?" ("Printed Books on the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 2, p 761) He poured out his vehement anger and accusations on the vicious opium trade of the aggressors together with the feudalism and exploitation of the Qing Dynasty, expressed his great sympathy with the Chinese people who suffered from poverty and strove to oppose the rulers, and explicitly showed his concern for his country and the people.

At that time, there was a secret society--the Tian Di Hui [Heaven and Earth Society]--which opposed the Qing Dynasty and was active in areas around Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hunan. They held high the banner of "opposing the Qing Dynasty and restoring the Ming Dynasty," and persisted in their struggles for almost a century in spite of the cruel suppression perpetrated by the Qing Dynasty. Hong Xiuquan had a good understanding of and supported this anti-Qing activity, and he asserted that "at the initial stage, that society was really not bad." But times had changed. Therefore, "we may still say that we oppose the Qing government, but we should not say that we want to restore the Ming government." He held that "anyway, we can restore the power of the Han nationality, and we should establish a new dynasty." ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 6, p 872) He started from dissatisfaction with and repudiation of the reality, went on to express his approval of the tradition of Tian Di Hui in opposing the Qing Dynasty, and further advocated the renunciation of the old objective of restoring the Ming Dynasty and was for founding a new dynasty. Hong Xiuquan's patriotism gradually merged with the peasant revolutionary ideas of toppling the Qing Dynasty and founding a new dynasty, which marked the new phase of the gradual formation of his patriotic and revolutionary ideas.

In 1837, Hong Xiuquan was seriously ill for more than 40 days as a result of his failure yet another time of the official examination. During this period, serious ideological struggles took place in his mind and he was confronted with a very important choice and decision in his life. At last, he decided to "grasp the power to rule over heaven and earth; kill the evil to protect the righteous and relieve the distress of the people," with the aim of toppling the Qing Dynasty, which was regarded by him as a task assigned by heaven. A new advance took place in terms of the ideology of Hong Xiuquan. Formerly, he placed himself outside the realm of revolution, taking the road of commenting on the revolution from the viewpoint of intellectuals; but now, he not only decided to take part in the revolution, but also wanted to personally lead and start a revolution.

After all, this change was confined to his mental activity, and the difference between words and deeds characteristic of the intellectuals, together with their wavering nature, prompted him to participate in the official examination once again, which took place in Guangzhou. Through what he saw and heard, he was shocked at the semi-colonization of the city, but at the same time, he was greatly encouraged by the patriotic sentiments of the masses against the British. This last failure in his efforts in the official examination made his mind more sober than ever, and now what was needed was not only ideology, but also action.

The defeat in the Opium War greatly shocked the persons inside and outside the Qing government. The more advanced Chinese began to turn their eyes to the West. Wei Yuan, a good friend of Lin Zexu, put forward the slogan of "learning from the advanced technology of the foreigners so as to restrain them." They attached special importance to grasping the essentials of weapons and warships so as to resist the foreign invaders. As for Hong Xiuquan, he paid attention to the exploration of spiritual weapons and succeeded in finding an answer from "Good Words for Exhorting the Age." According to his view, the entire content of the book meant truth. Before the Qin Dynasty, the Chinese worshipped God just as the Westerners did. During the reign of Qin Shi Huang, a wrong path was taken: The belief in God was given up and demons were worshipped. This practice continued for many dynasties, leading to the present dark and feeble state. The West had persistently believed in God, and therefore they grew stronger and defeated China. He believed that only when the Chinese nation was rejuvenated and had become rich and strong could the aggressors be checked and the people be saved from misery. As a result, the Bai Shang Di Hui [Society for the Worship of God]--was formed. The capitalist aggressors, while they were exporting opium to China, also exported their spiritual opium--Christianity. However, Hong Xiuquan used Christianity as a weapon to attack Confucius, whom he formerly believed in, smashed the ancestral tablets of Confucius in his school, and declared that he would establish a "peaceful and unified" new world. It was to be established not on the so-called other shore of Christianity, but on this realistic human world.

In 1844, Hong Xiuquan and Feng Yunshan went from Guangdong to the mountainous areas in Guangxi in pursuit of a base for propagating his religion and deriving his strength from the poor peasants. In the period between 1845 and 1847, in accordance with the urgent wishes of the peasants, Hong Xiuquan wrote his



three articles "Doctrines on Salvation," "Doctrines on Awakening," and "Doctrines on Arousing the World," marking the formation of his patriotic and revolutionary ideology.

In these three articles, Hong Xiuquan concentrated the requirements of the poor peasants in overthrowing the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty after the Opium War and used the terms and expressions of the Confucian school and Christianity to propagate the ideas of equal rights for the peasants, thus laying a primary theoretical basis for the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Although some passive feudal trash and religious superstition were revealed in the writings, yet "for the feelings of the masses who are under the influence of religion, it is necessary to express their personal interests in the garb of religion so that they can be aroused to action." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 251) Therefore, we should not be over-critical toward Hong Xiuquan.

### The Development of Hong Xiuquan's Patriotic and Revolutionary Ideas and Its Characteristics

After 7 years of strenuous ideological and organizational preparations, Hong Xiuquan led and initiated the Jintian uprising on 4 November 1850. In September of the following year, Yongnan fell into the hands of Hong's troops. Yang Xiuqing and Xiao Chaogui jointly issued the announcements "fighting the alien nationality by order of heaven," and "killing the demons by order of heaven" (opposing the Qing Dynasty and feudalism), calling on the people of the country to overthrow the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty and set up a heavenly kingdom on earth with equality and equal rights for every person. The patriotic and revolutionary ideas of Hong Xiuquan were turned into the revolutionary practice of millions of oppressed and exploited peasants, thereby giving birth to tremendous material strength. At the same time, this practice incessantly tested his ideology and prompted its enhancement and development.

In the winter of 1853, after the establishment of the capital Tianjing, "The Heavenly Land System" was issued, which was an elaborately devised scheme aimed at the salvation of the country and the people. This reflected a new and important development of his patriotic and revolutionary ideas.

On the basis of the "all equal" sacred treasury system, the "system" abolished the feudal private land ownership system in accordance with the principle of "no man should acquire private gains," and attempted to establish a new world of "equality in every place, sufficient food and clothing for every person" through equally dividing all land and social wealth. This reflected in a concentrated manner the strong desire held by the Chinese peasants for over 2,000 years: take over the landlords' land and wealth and establish an ideal society without exploitation and oppression in which "everyone gets sufficient food and clothing," thereby pushing the historical peasant war to a new height and giving "the system" a strong, antifeudal nature of democratic revolution. The new contribution of Hong Xiuquan lies not only in his inheriting and developing the ideology of the Chinese peasants on equality and equal rights, but also in his idea of establishing an ideal society contrary to the system of exploitation which had been in existence for several thousand years. Although this

idea of "the system," together with its policy of absolute egalitarianism, had a visionary and backward nature and was in essence a product of the small-scale peasant economy in the category of feudal production, it nevertheless fully exhibited the initial brilliance of its talented ideology.

If "the system" was the product of the small-scale peasant economy, then the "New Guide to Government" issued with the approval of Hong Xiuquan in 1859 should be regarded as the first Chinese program for learning from the West, which reflected the new essence of the times. Hong Rengan was the designer of this comparatively modern program. "The heavenly king has completely approved of the advanced things imported from Europe, such as the railway, the steam engine, and so on." ["Anecdotes of Hong Rengan"] In fact, almost every item in the program was endorsed by Hong Xiuquan. This demonstrated that with the progress of the times, Hong Xiuquan's patriotic and revolutionary ideology scaled another new height. He was not only a peasant revolutionary intent on destroying the old world, but was also a brave explorer striving for the building of a new world. In this respect, he was much superior to Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, who only wanted to study the Western military technology, let alone those bureaucrats in the Westernization movement.

However, Hong Xiuquan did not truly understand capitalism, and consequently he failed to see the essence of the "New Guide to Government." He only approved of its ideas from the angle of perception, and his approval, therefore, carried with it a rather high degree of blindness.

Regrettably, with the development of Hong Xiuquan's patriotic and revolutionary ideas, feudalism and the idea of imperial authority also malignantly developed under another form. The leading group could not stand the test of victory, leading to the Tianjing incident which saddened one's own people and gladdened the enemy, for which Hong Xiuquan shared an unshirkable responsibility. However, this was but a secondary trend in the development of his ideology, which should not shiel the brilliance of his patriotic and revolutionary ideology.

From the above, we think that the patriotic and revolutionary ideology of Hong Xiuquan has the following three characteristics: 1) Certain new ideological material was derived from the West; 2) it explicitly reflected the nature of the peasant class and its practice, which became a powerful spiritual weapon for the army and the people of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom to oppose feudalism and aggression; and 3) Hong Xiuquan deeply loved his motherland and the people, devoted himself to his ideals persistently, and led the army and people to "fight against the demon (the Qing Dynasty) and its foreign allies--until success is achieved and the country is in peace," and he fought bravely until his last breath.

#### The Historical Status of Hong Xiuquan's Patriotic and Revolutionary Ideas

Like many great historical figures who guide the orientation of the times but who have their own shortcomings, Hong Xiuquan's patriotic and revolutionary ideology also had its limitations arising from the times and class. The idea of imperial authority and religious superstition were two great passive factors which fettered and hindered his patriotic and revolutionary ideology

and practice. Apart from its visionary nature, "the system" later became a useless document because of the intensified feudalization of the leading group. In practice, it reverted to the policy of "collecting grain and levying taxes as of old," thus acceding to the feudal private ownership of land. The idea of imperial authority made Hong Xiuquan alienate himself from the masses and gradually become an emperor high above the people, with the result that there emerged a new feudal class system coupled with a new form of inequality. Religious superstition made Hong Xiuquan fail to see the strength of the army and the people and believe only in God, thereby seriously endangering the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

In spite of the fact that Hong Xiuquan committed mistakes of different kinds, he was still an outstanding leader of the peasant revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and a great patriot in recent times. Compared with his predecessors and men of his times, he did make greater contributions to the motherland and the people, who suffered bitterly at that time. Although the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom led by Hong Xiuquan was strangled by the joint forces of the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, his staunch antifeudal, antiaggression patriotic and revolutionary spirit has persistently encouraged the Chinese people to carry out great struggles wave after wave. His patriotic and revolutionary ideology has exerted an important and profound historical influence on democratic revolution in the last 100 years.

The capitalist reformist Rong Hong once visited Tianjing. He admitted that "the only good result of this insurrection was that God used it as a motive force to break through the lifeless atmosphere of a great nation so that the people might be awakened to be conscious of the need for a new country," and "the series of incidents that took place afterward precisely proved this." ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Series," the first edited collection, p 213) Hong Xiuquan's patriotic and revolutionary ideology represented a new awakening of the Chinese people in the recent period and was a prelude to the Chinese struggles against aggression and feudalism--this is the conclusion we have drawn from the words of Rong Hong.

The Revolution of 1911 led by the great bourgeois revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, more obviously inherited and developed the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Sun Yat-sen "often talked of Hong Xiuquan, calling him the greatest hero in opposing the Qing Dynasty. He felt very sorry that Hong failed in his attempt." In addition, he called himself "Hong Xiuquan the second." In 1902, he asked Liu Chengyu to write "The War History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," and personally wrote the preface for the book, warmly eulogizing and highly evaluating the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. He regarded the old three people's principles as the continuation and development of the patriotic and revolutionary ideology of Hong Xiuquan. He called for inheriting Hong Xiuquan's resolute anti-Qing revolutionary ideas and discarding Hong's trash--the idea of imperial authority. Sun Yat-sen expressed his belief that he understood his peasant leader, saying that "when Hong Xiuquan made revolution at that time, he knew nothing of the principle of democracy." Sun Yat-sen also derived the ideological material for his principle of the people's livelihood from "The Heavenly Land System," and he pointed out: "The principle of the people's livelihood means equality

for both the rich and the poor, without the rich oppressing the poor. But the principle of the people's livelihood was practiced by another man decades ago. Who was this man? This man was Hong Xiuquan." (Complete Works of the Prime Minister," Vol 2, pp 241-242) On the other hand, he renounced the policy of absolute egalitarianism of "the system."

Another outstanding revolutionary, Huang Xing, spoke of himself: "My motive in joining the revolution was originated from reading the unofficial history of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom." Citing the lessons of the Tianjing incident, he warned the revolutionary party of "the danger of repeating the mistakes of the Taiping brothers, which is of great significance to the revolution."

Historical facts have proved that the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was "glorious, though defeated." It is the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of Hong Xiuquan which was formed and developed during this great struggle that enlightened and inspired the revolutionaries for several generations.

Today, in commemoration of the 170th anniversary of the birth of Hong Xiuquan, we should inherit and develop his spirit of patriotism and strive to build our country into a strong, socialist country with a high level of material and spiritual civilization!

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HISTORICAL MATERIALIST VIEW OF NATIONAL UNITY

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[Article by Deng Guangming [6772 1639 6900] and Zhang Xiqing [1728 1585 3237]:  
"On the Relationship Between Historical Materialism and Patriotism"]

[Text] Abstract: The authors hold that regarding the speeches and actions of patriotic heroes involving nationality relations, the view of historical materialism should be applied in giving a truthful description and correct analysis, making them the common spiritual wealth of the people of various nationalities of China, so as to stimulate the unity of various nationalities of the whole country and to invigorate the Chinese nation. We should by no means omit or place a "taboo" on mentioning them. [end abstract]

#### I

In his letter addressed to Ho Ganzhi in January 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Concerning the three attitudes in your study of history, I hold them to be correct, in particular the second attitude. It will be helpful to the current war of resistance against Japan if you can prove, in your work, which is right, the line of national resistance or the capitulationist line, and scathingly denounce those national capitulationists of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Southern Song Dynasty, the late Ming Dynasty, and the late Qing Dynasty, praising those who engaged in national resistance. However, there is one point which should be made clear. Concerning those aggressive policies of "annexing the weak and attacking the backward," and of "craving for greatness and success" (such policies did exist in the history of China), we should not adopt an attitude of endorsement, avoiding confusing it with the policy of active resistance. Attacking for the sake of resistance should not be included in the realm of invasion, as in the case of Ban Chao of the Eastern Han Dynasty." ("Selected Letters of Mao Zedong," pp 136-137) This statement of Comrade Mao Zedong's was an exposition on historical material on national struggle in the history of China. It is still of guiding significance at a time when we are carrying out education in patriotism, and when we have yet to unify our understanding of patriotism.

Lenin once said: "Patriotism is a most profound sentiment toward one's motherland consolidated through hundreds and thousands of years." As to our country, which has a long history of civilization, it is naturally lovable in numerous

ways. For example, our forefathers created a brilliant culture and left us countless precious and valuable legacies; we have beautiful and magnificent scenes of mountains and rivers; numerous truly great men and national heroes, and the outstanding contributions they made to mankind, which move one to songs and tears, and so on. These are rarely comparable with those of other countries and nations in the world. It is precisely these people and things, and the varied legacies and outstanding achievements, that have constantly produced the power to crystallization and attraction that enable our country of many nationalities to take shape, consolidate, and continuously develop. Here, we should like to cite a very short story as illustration:

King Yelu Abaoji, who founded the Liao Dynasty, once asked his attendants: "Now I want to offer sacrifices to someone who made great contributions and accumulated virtue in history, who should he be?" All the ministers advised him, saying: "It is necessary to piously worship the Buddha." But Abaoji said: "Confucius was a sage, he is much honored in the world. I think we should offer sacrifices to him." Abaoji was greatly pleased, and immediately built a Confucian temple, while issuing an imperial edict that the crown prince should go to the temple to hold a memorial ceremony twice a year in spring and in autumn. [See "History of the Liao Dynasty," Vol 72] This story illustrates, on the one hand, that a man like Confucius, who made extremely great contributions to Chinese culture, is one of the spiritual ties that have brought together the people of various nationalities of the Chinese nation; and on the other, it demonstrates that though the Liao Kingdom, founded by Khitan Nobles, had its political center outside the Great Wall, they regarded themselves as Chinese, too.

## II

Not long ago, we read the speech of a comrade made at a conference, in which we came across the following passage: "In present day usage, what does the term 'patriotism' imply anyway? The concept has been made rather ambiguous. What kind of 'state' does one love? And who should be the 'patriots'? These ideas are not clarified before some comrades speak plausibly and at length of patriotism. Actually their concept of the state is none other than the Zhou Kingdom, the Qin Kingdom, the Han Kingdom, the Tang Kingdom, the Song Kingdom, and the Ming Kingdom. The Yuan Kingdom is excluded, and the Qing Kingdom, too; they were regarded as 'alien states,' which we should not cherish." ("MINZHU TUANJIE NATIONALITIES UNITY" No 7, 1983). If such a situation as mentioned in the above article quoted above should have existed, it would have made the "concept of patriotism rather ambiguous"; but with a little investigation and study, one may find that none of those who have studied Marxism and acquired some historical knowledge have ever considered the Yuan and Qing Kingdoms "alien states," and that "they should not be cherished." This has been the case at least since the founding of new China. The area of our country's territory was fixed during the period from the Yuan to the Qing Dynasty. None of the Qin, Han, Tang, and Song Dynasties were capable of reigning over the whole area of China's territory. And it was not until the period of the full blooming of the Qing Dynasty that it was possible to exercise rule over the whole of China's territory. Again, it was only the Qing Kingdom that came

to be congruent without present-day China. Therefore, we have all along regarded the unequal treaties signed between the Qing court and foreign invaders as "traitorous" treaties, and those soldiers and people who took part in the heroic resistance against the British and Japanese invaders during the Opium Wars and the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 as "patriotic" soldiers and people. Here, "patriotism" and "treason" refer to the great Qing Imperial Kingdom (namely China). Please read the "Chronicles of China" and "A Dictionary of History," edited this century. Nowhere in either of them will you find that the Yuan and Qing Dynasties have been regarded as alien states. Even in the "24 Histories," written during the feudal age, "The History of the Liao Dynasty," and "The History of the Jing Dynasty," were in a series with "The History of the Song Dynasty," while "The History of the Yuan Dynasty," and "The History of the Ming Dynasty" were closely linked to each other. It has been idiomatic usage for people to cite the dynasties of Tan, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing in a string. And under no circumstances have the Yuan and Qing Dynasties ever been regarded as alien states!

The three kingdoms of Liao, Song, and Jing, which were antagonistic to each other in succession, all founded their states inside the territory of China, and each regarded itself as being China. However, they regarded each other as alien states. Here, "alien state" refers to their mutual attitudes to one another but not to China. In accordance with the requirements of historical materialism, when all this is viewed in a particular historical context, we can only admit that it was the only practical way for them, which should not be confused with the sense of China and alien countries in our present-day usage.

### III

Immediately following the statement we have quoted above, that comrade went on to say: "Whenever patriotic heroes are mentioned, they are invariably such figures as Yue Fei, Xin Qiji, and Wen Tianxiang. Of course, those people were good. But should historical questions go back into history or be seen from the present?" He continued: "As contemporary China, the PRC, is a country consisting of many nationalities, there should be some choosing and avoiding when patriotism is mentioned, historically speaking. Otherwise, it will sow discord among nationalities, and cause disharmony in nationality relations. This will not be advantageous to the development of the country and of socialism, and to the relations between all nationalities. Now it seems that there will be difficulties in a taboo on mentioning some people, and that Yue Fei and Wen Tianxiang have to be referred to, as the avoidance of these great patriots, great men of letters, officials loyal to sovereign, and righteous men, would be denying them all. What this statement involves is not only how to carry on education in patriotism, but also the question of how to give lectures on Chinese history.

It is our view that concerning all important events in history, a historical materialist should make a correct analysis, while giving a truthful picture of them: criticism should be made of those incidents which have been harmful to the development of our Chinese nation and state, while those incidents which have been helpful to the development of the Chinese nation and state should be



inherited, and made to guide the present great movement and play a helpful role. He should by no means cut history, or omit or place "taboos" on mentioning some historical facts, in particular, things in history which should be inherited and carried forward.

"There is only one China." This does not only apply to our country today, but also to the China of yesterday, and of the days before yesterday. The Chinese nation today comprises over 50 nationalities. Concerning the historical background of their formation, they have all gone through hardships and tortuous paths, advancing in accordance with the law of dialectics. In the course of several thousand years of history, every nationality has gone through the course of its own rise and decline, or even extinction. There were times of friendly ties, peaceful coexistence, and mutual harmony, and there were also times of mutual attacks, oppression, and the domination of part of the country. What Comrade Mao Zedong mentioned in his letter to He Gangzhi were some incidents of the latter situation.

Regarding the history of the coexistence of many political powers contending for domination of China's territory, it is necessary not only to narrate the contradictions and conflicts between them, but to differentiate between the rights and wrongs, and to tell which side were the oppressors, and which side the oppressed. Concerning the oppressors, it is essential to point out the ambitions of the rulers in the upper strata in "annexing the weak and attacking the backward," and "wantonly engaging in military aggression," while it is also essential to differentiate those national capitulationists from those engaged in national resistance, and to scathingly denounce the former while praising the latter, regarding them as an example to follow. The aim is not at all to settle old accounts, and to sow discord among various nationalities, but to reveal a truth: that under the historical condition of rule by an exploiting class, there will inevitably be constant nationality contradictions and conflicts, while the laboring people of the two sides diametrically opposed to each other suffer from them. Only under the historical condition of a socialist society will it be possible to realize the coalition of various nationalities on an equal footing, and will it be possible to draw lessons from historical incidents of mutual oppression, so that they may not happen again. Such a way of narrating history is not "going back into history," but actually killing three birds with one stone: it will carry on simultaneously the education in historical dialectism, the education in patriotism, and the education in the policy of nationality unity.

#### IV

That the Jin [2567] regime should have moved south, and the Battle of Feishui [3224 3055], which followed, should have taken place, that the Song regime should have moved south, and the Southern Song Dynasty should have fallen, that the Ming regime should have moved south, and the Southern Ming Dynasty should have fallen all resulted from the military attacks of the rulers of the upper strata of the minority nationalities in the north against the state powers of the Han nationality. In these incidents, the minority nationalities became oppressing nationalities, and the rulers of their upper strata were all



the more oppressors, while the people of the Han nationality and the rulers of their upper stratum were all placed in the position of being oppressed. As "those engaged in national resistance" referred to by Comrade Mao Zedong can only be chosen from among the oppressed nationalities, it is not quite understandable that the overwhelming majority of the national heroes and patriots, righteous figures or figures displaying a national integrity written of in our history should be of the Han nationality?

There is another reason for the fact that those minority nationality heroes or patriots and so on written of in our history are very few in number, namely, that materials recording the history of the Han nationality abound, while materials recording the historical facts concerning minority nationalities in the Han language have always been rare; therefore, a state of impoverishment regarding such materials inevitably exists. In order to overcome such a phenomenon, it is necessary to adopt correct channels, but not to place a taboo on mentioning the historical figures of the Han nationality (because a "taboo" will mean "denial." With the criterion of contributing to the unity of the motherland, and of playing an active role in the formation and development of the Chinese nation, we should adopt various measures to discover those conforming to it among the historical figures of our fraternal nationalities, making their feats known to the people. For example, Li Quangbi [2621 0342 1732], the famous general of the Zhitan nationality in the Tan Dynasty; Zheng He [6774 0735] of the Hui nationality, in the Ming Dynasty, who made seven voyages to the West; and many famous generals of the Quang nationality of the Taiping Tianguo in their revolt against the Qing Dynasty.

Yelu Abaoji, the founding of the Liao Dynasty, who had risen from the northwest and brought under the jurisdiction of the Liao regime many minority nationalities in the northeast; Wanyan Aguda [1346 7346 7093 7539 2092], the first emperor of the Jin [6855] Dynasty, who had risen in resistance to the nationality oppression policy of the Liao regime, overthrew the Liao Dynasty, and founded the Jin Dynasty; Kublai Khan, emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, who ended the situation of split and separate regimes of several centuries, and unified the whole of China; Dorgan, the actual military and political leader of the Qing Dynasty in the early years of the regime, and so on should all be included in the ranks of outstanding figures of the Chinese nation, and be praised and commended, so that their feats may be known to the people of all nationalities of the Chinese nation and may become the spiritual ties bringing together our national feelings.

## V

It is correct to deal with historical questions, and to carry on education in patriotism "with the view of the present," "starting from the standpoint of the general concept of the present-day Chinese nation." Only then will it be possible to prevent the appearance not only of Han chauvinism, but of local-nationality chauvinism. But in putting this correct view into practice, we should by no means cut history or avoid a truthful picture of history; and by no means should one censure others groundlessly for making ambiguous the concept of "patriotism," and for "speaking on it plausibly and at length."

We hold that there were many incidents of "fraternal (nationalities) disunity" in the long history of the formation and development of the Chinese nation. The correct treatment of such incidents should be undertaken in accordance with what Comrade Mao Zedong said in his letter: they should be dealt with discriminatingly, either with praise or censure, in line with the actions of those concerned in the incidents, so that they will be of some help to the current struggle. Such a practice in the long-term war of resistance against Japan also proved that by so doing, rather great results were achieved.

For example, after the Jin [2516] regime moved to the south, the words and actions of Zu Di [4371 6636] and Liu Kun [0491 2497], in striking the oars while crossing the river, as a pledge to recover lost territory, and in rising at the first crow of the cock to brandish their swords and spears, as a sign of strong will and determination, were originally a demonstration of their indignation against the fraternal nationalities in the North. As another example, Yue Fei's pledge that "we will drink to our heart's content when we swoop down on the city of Huanglong" was directed at the nobles of the Nuchen nationality and their aggressive army. Nevertheless, not only the idioms of "striking the oars while crossing the river," and "rising at the first crow of the cock to brandish the sword and spear" were often used, but even the brave words of swooping down on the city of Huanglong were often symbolically used to express the idea of swooping down on the den of the Japanese bandits. These words played an active role in stimulating and encouraging the sentiments of the people of all nationalities of the country to unanimously unite and fight against the Japanese aggressors, and proved the correctness of the statement of Comrade Mao Zedong that "it will be helpful to the current war of resistance against Japan." During that time, nobody considered the use of these idioms would cause ill feelings between the Han and other fraternal nationalities, and nobody would have had the misunderstanding that the application of the historical facts of the internal contradictions within the Chinese nation would mean regarding ancient regimes established in the north of China as alien countries like Japan. In fact, this is entirely logical. Because it is absolutely impossible for historical incidents to reoccur in exactly the same way. The application of any literary quotations from history is making the past serve the present. Therefore, it can only be weeding the old to bring forth the new, giving them new meaning, changing the objects of their implications. How can one have such "narrow-minded" opinions, in the manner of "cutting a mark on the side of one's boat to indicate the place where one's sword has dropped into the river?"

## VI

The reason that comrade has listed Yue Fei as one of the historical figures that should be made "taboo" is probably, apart from the fact that Yue Fei was a figure who persisted in national resistance, that there is a line in his poem "Man Jiang Hong" which reads: "With lofty ideal of killing and eating the northern tribes, I thirst for drinking their blood in laughter," which will all the more easily irritate the feelings of the fraternal nationalities in the north and injure the unity and harmony between nationalities.

We hold that if we can have an overall grasp of the history and situation of the war between the Song and the Jin [6855] in line with the historical materialist view, and have a clear understanding of the role of Yue Fei's resistance against the Jin [6855], including the resistance against the Nuchen nationality in the development of the whole Chinese nation, and of the historical background of Yue Fei when writing this poem, this incident will be given an appropriate analysis, explanation, and evaluation.

According to reliable records of the time, in the war of aggression launched by the Nuchen nobles against the Song Dynasty, wherever their mounted troops went: "They slaughtered, looted, captured women, and burned all the houses" ("Compilation by San Chao Bei Meng [0005 2600 0554 4145], Vol 106) such incidents took place anywhere at any time. Here we cite only two of the most conspicuous examples: In November 1128, the Jin [6855] army besieged Kaide (namely Chanzhou now Puyang, Henan Province). After the city was taken, "the Jin soldiers entered the city; angered by the resistance, they killed all the citizens without exception," not even any babies were spared. A decade and more later, someone returned to Kaide from south of the Changjiang, but he could not find any of the former inhabitants in the whole city (Ibid, Vol 119). In December 1130, Nian Han [4724 4988], a noble of the Nuchen nationality, issued an order for the capture of able-bodied men and intellectuals in the central plains of China, turning them into slaves, or driving them to Tartary and the Western Xia in exchange for war-horses. Once, those captured were far too great in number, while no outlet could be found for them, and it was difficult to provide them with food; finally, Nian Han gave order to bury all 3,000 of the captives alive in the suburbs of Yunzhong [now Datong City, Shanxi Province] ("Jian Yan Yi Lai Xi Nian Yao Lu" [1696 3508 0110 0171 4762 1628 6008 6922], Vol 40). It is precisely because of such inhuman, bloody acts that Yue Fei was filled with indignation and wrath in writing his poem. Comparing these written lines with the heinous crimes of the Nuchen nobles, which were actually more cruel and worse, the words or the actions? Though we should not place a taboo on mentioning the historical facts of the war between the Song and Jin Dynasties today, they should, however, be dealt with as a bitter historical lesson. When it is necessary to point out the rights and wrongs, we have no intention of asking the party that suffered 10 centuries ago to settle an old account today. The reason we set the poem by Yue Fei to the tune of "Man Jiang Hong" to music, and sing it out heartily, is to make the past serve the present, to stimulate the patriotic sentiments of the compatriots of the whole country, so as to be prepared for the invasion of foreign enemies of today.

If Yue Fei should not have a taboo placed on him it is only natural that there is no reason to place taboos on such historical figures as Xin Qiji, the patriotic poet, and Wen Tianxiang, a man of national integrity, who was not to be subdued by force.

## VII

Finally we will cite the examine of the Great Wall in our discussion on the question of how to link closely the education in patriotism with historical

materialism. Because there is no denying the fact that the Great Wall was built for the sake of resisting the invasions of northern fraternal nationalities, whether at the time of the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty, or at the time of the Ming Dynasty, when it was under repair. Today, however, the Great Wall has become a great construction project for the education in patriotism. What we see and ponder on at the sight of the Great Wall is no longer the historical fact of the warfare between the ancient Han and other fraternal nationalities, but the great creative power and magnificent spirit of the laboring people in ancient times. Therefore, it will never again sow discord among the various nationalities. And when we sing out loud that "we have brave men only when we reach the Great Wall," we are filled with pride and enthusiasm, and by no means do we have the slightest sentiment of taking a position against our compatriots outside the Great Wall. With the exception of some people who have an axe to grind, nobody in China or the whole world regards the Great Wall as a wall that divides China any longer, but rather as a symbol of the whole of China and the Chinese nation. The Great Wall has become a common historical wealth of the people of all nationalities of China, and the pride of the whole Chinese nation.

The same view should be adopted concerning the words and actions of patriotic heroes involving nationality relations. New meaning should be given to them, to stimulate and encourage the complete unity of the people of all nationalities of the whole country, to resist those imperialists, and big and small hegemonists, who are still eyeing us covetously, and to safeguard the security of the people of all the nationalities of the Chinese nation, so as to realize the magnificent aims of invigorating the Chinese nation, and of building a powerful country with socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/380

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CPPCC PROPOSALS HELP GOVERNMENT IMPROVE WORK

OW091936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1604 GMT 9 Feb 84

[Text] Beijing, 9 February (XINHUA)--The State Planning Commission recently listed the building of a deep-water harbor in Meizhou Bay in Fujian Province as one of the key capital construction projects during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period (1981-1985), on a proposal made by national committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

The CPPCC, a united front organization for promoting socialist democracy, is composed of many representative figures from various walks of life. It makes suggestions and criticisms to supervise and help improve government work.

A feasibility study on the site chosen for the harbor is now being undertaken jointly by the Ministry of Communications and Fujian Province. The study report will be worked out within this year.

Specialists consider that Meizhou Bay could be made into a deep-water harbor to reduce the volume of cargoes going through the harbors of Shanghai, Huangpu, Zhanjiang and Hong Kong.

Meizhou Bay, located at Putian County in the central section of the coast of Fujian Province, has a long coastline with 10 to 20 meter-deep water. Surrounded by mountains on three sides, it is sheltered from storms, remains unfrozen all year round and has no problem of siltimv.

An official of the State Planning Commission told XINHUA that the excellent location had come to the attention of the Communications Ministry and other government departments, but nothing had been done. It was the CPPCC suggestion that led to the decision, he added. He said that the preparatory work would be completed within the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

The proposal to build Meizhou Bay was made by Nin Songmao, vice-chairman of the CPPCC Committee of Fujian Province, and 15 other CPPCC members. It is one of the 1,070 motions submitted since the first session of the sixth CPPCC National Committee held last June.

Most of the motions have been handled by government departments and many accepted, according to sources from the CPPCC National Committee here.

Another example is the motion submitted by Jin Xianzhai, director of Tianjin People's Hospital. His suggestion to organize experienced doctors in urban hospitals to help improve medical services in rural areas is being put into practice in Hebei Province, north China. Many urban hospitals have established regular ties with county hospitals in the province, giving technical advices and helping them train medical workers.

Another motion suggesting improvements in the techniques of making inner tubes of motor vehicle tires has been listed on the technical development plan of the ministry of the chemical industry.

Many government departments describe such motions as positive factors that help improve their work.

COS: 4005/380

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN YUN LETTER TO FRIEND'S SON PUBLISHED

OW292202 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0014 GMT 29 Jan 84

[CPC Political Bureau Standing Committee Chen Yun's 19 June 1949 letter to Lu Kaiti--carried by issue No 5 of LIAOWANG weekly to be published on 30 January 1984]

[Text] Beijing, 29 Jan (XINHUA)--Note by Party Literature Research Center of the CPC Central Committee: This is Comrade Chen Yun's letter to the son of a cadre. This letter is of important practical significance to the education of the broad masses of party members, cadres and young people, especially the children of cadres, on revolutionary traditions and communism. With Comrade Chen Yun's consent, the letter is hereby openly published. [end of note]

My nephew Kaiti,

Your letter dated 10 June has been received. It has been 18 years since I say you last. When I read your letter, I was very glad to see that your writing is clear and coherent. Personally speaking, I and your father (note 1: Lu Quan, a native of Xiaozheng Township in Qingpu County, Shanghai. He joined the CPC in 1927 and took part in the Xiaozheng uprising in 1928. He died in 1979.) did not fulfill a father's responsibilities because neither of us paid attention to our children's schooling and livelihood. But we realized this in those years. We knew that if we only considered own children we would not be able to be dedicated to reforming society as a whole. That was why we deserted our homes. Now our objective of liberating the whole country will soon be realized; but this will only be the first step in reforming society, and the living standard of the people throughout the country will still be very low. Not only must we overthrow the reactionary forces, we must improve the people's livelihood; and so what lies ahead is hard work for a long time to come, and we shall do the job at this stage together with the people of the whole country.

Your grandfather and grandmother are two most unforgettable persons whose deed have touched me a great deal. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, I, your father and Comrade Wu Zhixia (note 2: A native of Liantang Town in Qingpu County, Shanghai. He joined the CPC in 1925, and was a cadet of the Whampoa Military academy's 5th class. He had been a member of the

Standing Committee of the Qingpu County CPC Committee. He was killed by the KMT reactionaries in January 1928.) (who was killed in the winter of that year) lived and ate at your house while carrying out the peasants' movement. After the failure (note 3: Referring to the failure of Xiaozheng uprising in 1928), your entire family fled to Shanghai, and it was still your grandfather who supported many persons with income from practicing medicine, and we still ate at your house. Your grandfather was a man of integrity. He firmly believed that the revolution would triumph and so he never complained or regretted hardship. A man like him was really hard to come by.

Now, as your elder, I think it is my responsibility to remind you of one thing, which you may also convey to Niyun (note 4: Liao Niyun, Chen Yun's cousin) and remind him as well. This is: You and Niyun must never consider yourselves children of meritorious revolutionaries and must never behave haughtily, exceed the bounds or violate the law in your home town. This is absolutely impermissible. You must remember that a communist and an ordinary person are equal before the law of our state, and a communist must set an example in obeying the law. A revolutionary works for nothing other than serving the people. He should never think of any reward. Whoever wants rewards is not qualified to be a communist party member. I and your father are not meritorious officials, much less are you the children of meritorious officials. You must (begin mark of emphasis) keep this firmly in mind (end mark of emphasis). You must remember that it is the people of the whole country who have truly performed the meritorious service, because only due to their opposition of the reactionaries and support for the liberation army can the liberation army liberate the whole country smoothly. You must know your place, behave properly and by no means should there be any transgression of the law. It seems that I am a bit harsh in giving you this lecture the very first time I write to you, but I deeply feel that I have the responsibility to warn you.

I will probably pay a visit to the south, but there is no fixed schedule yet. I do not know whether your father can get away from his work and join me, but I will tell him about the trip. If possible, we will come to the south together.

In case there is still no telegram service in Zhangliantang (note: same as Liantang Town in Qingpu County) or in Xiaozheng and one cannot communicate with Beijing by telegram, you and Niyun should find a place in Songjiang that can relay a telegram so that you can reach me by telegram in case of emergency. Letter correspondence takes 2 weeks. Your letter dated 10 June was received on 17 June. It took 7 or 8 days to reach me.

Please give my regards to your grandmother and your mother. I wish you well!

[Signed] Chen Yun, 19 June.

CSO: 4005/377



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

BEIJING MINORITIES MEETING--Beijing, 29 Jan (XINHUA)--People of national minorities residing in Beijing held a meeting here this afternoon at the Cultural Palace for Nationalities to greet the arrival of spring. Present at the meeting to celebrate the Spring Festival were Xi Zhongxun, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Bainqen Erdini Qoigyì Gyaincain, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Burhan Shahidi, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; and some 300 other persons, including noted personages of national minorities from various circles in Beijing and nationalities affairs workers. They were greeted at the entrance to the Cultural Palace by 26 smiling boys and girls dressed in minority costumes. Ying Jingren, minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, and advisor Fei Xiaotong, and other responsible comrades of the commission toasted the guests, congratulating them on the occasion of the Spring Festival and wishing them and their families happiness and succeed in everything. From beginning to end, the meeting was permeated with a joyful atmosphere of festivities and the unity of all the nationalities in the country. Performers of national minorities in the capital staged brilliant literary and art shows at the meeting. [Text] [OW301632 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1300 GMT 29 Jan 84]

OLD AGE STUDIES--According to a JIANKANG BAO [HEALTH NEWS] report, Comrade Nie Rongzhen said in a recent congratulatory letter that studies on old age and gerontology should be strengthened to promote work for old people in our country. Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: At present there are more than 80 million people over 60 years old in our country. The figure is estimated to increase to 130 million by the end of the century. Both current and future figures are the world's largest. To protect the legitimate rights and interests of so many old people so that they are well provided for, keep learning and do things in old age, remain in good health and live a long life is not only a complex social problem but an extremely important problem of natural science. Therefore, we must step up studies on old age and gerontology. Comrade Nie Rongzhen is very much concerned about the physical health of the aged. He advised old comrades to pay attention to and take care of themselves. He suggested that old people be moderate in eating and drinking, lead a regular life, keep suitably cool and warm, feel happy, get prompt treatment for sickness and prevent sickness by taking early precautions, properly arrange activities and rest, stay in good health and live long, emit light with their remaining heat and add glory to the people. Comrade Nie Rongzhen's letter will be published in the CHANGSHOU [LONGEVITY] journal, Issue No 1, 1984. [Text] [OW010346 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 29 Jan 84]

CPPCC MEMBER'S DEATH--Beijing, 11 Feb (XINHUA)--Li Yutang, member of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee and advisor to the Ministry of Ordnance Industry, died of illness in Beijing on 1 February 1984 at the age of 67. Hailing from Shouyang County, Shanxi, Li Yutang joined the revolution in 1938 and became a CPC member in the same year. He was formerly a vice minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building Industry. [Summary] [OW151330 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0903 GMT 11 Feb 84]

CSO: 4005/380

## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### HAINAN CONFERENCE STRESSES CENTRAL DOCUMENT

HK090318 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 8 Feb 84

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the district CPC committee held a conference for cadres of organizations directly under the district authorities on explaining and publicizing the spirit of the 1984 No. 1 document of the CPC Central Committee. The conference urged all fronts, departments, and units to conscientiously improve their work style, so as to conform to the new rural situation which is constantly developing, and to promote the development of large-scale commodity production in the rural areas.

The conference was attended by over 1,500 leading cadres at and above deputy section head level of organizations directly under the district authorities. Yao Wenxu, secretary of the district CPC committee, presided over the conference and delivered a speech. Wei Zefang, deputy secretary of the district CPC committee, explained and publicized at the conference the spirit of the No. 1 document of the CPC Central Committee.

Comrade Wei Zefang said: Summarizing events since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, particularly since the implementation of the 1983 No. 1 document, the No. 1 document of the CPC Central Committee is a new policy and new measure proceeding from the spirit of further perfecting the production responsibility system, improving the standard of productive forces, developing rural commodity production, and building socialist agriculture with Chinese characteristics in line with new experiences, the new situation, and new problems that have emerged in the rural areas. It not only is an important document for guiding rural work this year and in the period ahead, but also a programmatic document for guiding economic work in an all-round way. In order to conscientiously implement this document, we must call forth new initiative by the peasants in production, and develop new productive forces and stimulate the rural areas to switch the economy from self-reliance and semi-self-reliance to relatively large-scale commodity production. We also must stimulate the rural areas to switch from traditional to modern agriculture, and further develop the new situation in socialist construction which has already been created. It is a document of both immediate and profound historical significance.

Comrade Wei Zefang pointed out: This year, the district's rural work must treat economic construction as the core, regard the practice of acting in

accordance with and implementing the No. 1 document of the CPC Central Committee as the driving force, and treat commodity production as the focal point. In the work, we must simultaneously grasp the building of the two civilizations. Cadres at all levels must act in accordance with realities, study the documents, and sum up experience and draw lessons from the implementation of the three No. 1 documents of the CPC Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They must continue to eliminate leftist thinking and influence by acting in the spirit of rectification. They must master the skills in grasping commodity production. They must further perfect the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output on a household basis. They must protect the initiative of peasants and enthusiastically support specialized households, key households, developmental households, and economic combines. They must attach great importance to them ideologically, encourage them politically, guide them in production, and provide them economic assistance. They must truly protect their legitimate rights. They must be bold in reforming the rural circulation system, break conventional rules, and reform the system of supply and marketing cooperatives. They must thoroughly restore their cooperative commercial nature, and run them as centers to serve the rural economy and the commodity production. They must encourage the peasants to engage in developmental contracts so as to promote the development of commodity production, and to do well in land readjustment, and really solve the contradiction between tilling land and raising livestock among the peasants. They must lay a solid foundation for stabilizing production relations and developing commodity production.

Comrade Yao Wenxu spoke at the conference. He urged all cadres and staff throughout the district to understand the new situation confronting the rural areas when studying the No. 1 document of the CPC Central Committee. On the basis of stabilizing and perfecting the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, they must keep circulation channels clear, heighten the standard of productive forces, and greatly develop commodity production. For this reason, they must do well in their own jobs, working actively, voluntarily, and with a sense of responsibility and innovation, so as to suit themselves to the changes. Not only must economic departments act in this way, but other departments must also act in the same way. In order to achieve this great change, leadership at all levels must have a good work style, and manage to achieve solidarity, be active and earnestness, and have vivacity. They must do well in various tasks with a spirit of struggle, and go down to the grassroots units to carry out study and investigation. They must help the rural areas to implement policies, and to solve existing problems.

CSO: 4005/374

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

'JOB-AWAITING PEOPLE' GAIN EMPLOYMENT IN 1983

HK110406 Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Report by Ren Shunhua [0117 5293 5478] and Sun Keqiang [1327 0344 1730]:  
"Jobs Given to 179,000 Job-Awaiting People in the Province Last Year"]

[Text] Last year, our province assigned jobs to 179,000 job-awaiting people in cities and towns, overfulfilling plans in this respect by 19 percent.

In further implementation of the policy put forward by the party Central Committee and the State Council for the development of collective and individual economy and proper arrangements for job-awaiting people, the local authorities of our province made sustained efforts in 1983 to promote collective and individual economy so as to offer more employment to job-awaiting people. People who were assigned jobs in collectively- and individually-run units accounted for 55 percent of the total number of job-awaiting people, which was 25 percent higher than the proportion of those who were assigned work in government-run units.

With a view to training job-awaiting people before getting employment, local authorities tried hard to train these people in varied forms and in line with local conditions so as to meet social requirements and the needs of recruiting units. According to estimates, the province's labor service companies trained more than 30,000 job-awaiting young people in cooperation with other social organizations.

Labor service companies developed rapidly and played a major role in making arrangements for employment. By the end of 1983, there were 973 labor service companies (or stations) in the province (of which 254 were newly established in 1983), with a total of more than 4,100 cadres and work personnel. Labor service companies under enterprises and institutions developed more quickly than others, constituting more than half of the total mentioned above. Besides the training of job-awaiting people prior to employment, labor service companies in the province also did a good job in the registration and management of the social labor force. In 1983, they offered casual work to more than 53,000 people, sponsored more than 4,100 service points for production, and assigned jobs to more than 72,000 job-awaiting people.

CSO: 4005/374

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

HENAN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT--Henan Province made marked achievements in arranging employment for youths in 1983. By the end of last year, the province had arranged jobs for some 187,800 youths awaiting employment, overfulfilling its task. Of these youths, 55 percent got employment in collective enterprises and 5.6 percent engaged in individual undertakings. [Summary] [HK091537 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 6 Feb 84 HK]

HUNAN EDUCATION FOR WORKERS--Apart from cultural education for workers, Hunan Province has also conducted political, technical, professional, and management education for workers. Last year, 70 percent of units throughout the province conducted education for workers and some 1.4 million workers received education. At present, the province has set up some 2,100 regular schools for workers, and some factories, mines, and enterprises have set up training centers. [Summary] [HK091537 Chengsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 6 Feb 84 HK]

HUNAN CHILDREN'S JUVENILE WORK--On 17 January, the Hunan Provincial People's Government issued a circular, deciding to establish the Hunan Provincial Children's and Juvenile Work Committee, which will be composed of leading comrades concerned of 19 units, including the provincial women's federation, the provincial planning committee, the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial economic committee, and the Provincial Agricultural Committee. The office of the work committee will be situated in the provincial women's federation. [Text] [HK091537 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 6 Feb 84 HK]

CSO: 4005/374

NORTH REGION

BEIJING, TIANJIN PART-TIME COLLEGES PROSPER

OW070807 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 7 Feb 84

[Text] Beijing, February 7 (XINHUA)--The Tianjin Associated Spare-Time College has enrolled 1,200 students in 16 specialities since it opened half a year ago.

The college was founded by 1,000 Tianjin alumni of Qinghua, Beijing, Zhejiang and the former Yenching and Southwest Associated Universities. The alumni found that many urgently-needed subjects were not adequately taught by ordinary colleges and universities and decided to help.

Their move received the support of the Tianjin municipal government, which provided a preliminary fund of 10,000 yuan. However, the college has so far supported itself on consultancy work and tuition fees, and the fund has remained untouched.

Its 108 teachers, mostly retired specialists and guest professors, are hired on contracts which can be terminated if their teaching is not satisfactory.

A similar privately-run school in Beijing, the Jingyi Refresher School, has graduated 2,100 people since its founding in the fall of 1980. It now has 969 students in courses including literature, college English, higher mathematics, philosophy, political economy, logic, accounting and electric engineering.

The Beijing branch of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang also runs 11 vocational schools in the capital. The schools often teach subjects which are not available elsewhere, including Cantonese dialect for tourism personnel.

Most of the students attend the sparetime colleges and classes to earn promotions at work, prepare for examinations for self-study college diplomas, or acquire new skills to apply to their jobs.

CSO: 4000/209

## NORTH REGION

### BRIEFS

HEBEI COUNTY LEADERSHIP--By mid-January, Hebei had basically completed the readjustment of its county party and government leadership groups. A total of 1,016 middle-aged and young cadres have been selected for these leadership groups. About 80 percent of them have university or technical college education. The size of each county leadership group has been reduced from the previous 18.5 persons to 13.2 on average. The average age of the new leadership groups is 43.6, which is 7.3 years less than previously. In the groups, 12.1 percent of the members are aged over 51, 54.7 percent are aged from 41 to 50, and 33.2 percent are under 40. Of the No. 1 party and government men in the counties, 38.3 percent have university or technical college education. There is a good range of specialized knowledge in the leadership groups. [Summary] [HK110412 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Feb 84 HK]

NEI MONGGOL ARRANGES TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS--Last year, our region made new achievements in carrying out the policy concerning Taiwan compatriots and their families. Over 1,580 Taiwan compatriots and their families have properly been arranged. In the last 2 years, governments at all levels in the autonomous region adopted measures for investigating and handling, one by one, those Taiwan compatriots and families of Taiwan compatriots who asked for arrangement. Some 109 Taiwan compatriots and their family members have had their public employment restored. Some 842 children of Taiwan compatriots and their family members have been employed. Some 180 of them have been promoted and transferred to state cadres. Some 46 families of Taiwan compatriots, whose houses were narrower and smaller, have been distributed larger houses. Some 350 Taiwan compatriots and their families joined the CPC. [Text] [SK110136 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Feb 84]

CSO: 4005/378



## NORTHEAST REGION

### BRIEFS

CIRCULAR ON INSPECTING NEWLY ELECTED DELEGATES--Recently, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress issued a circular urging the liaison organizations of the people's congress standing committee work in all localities and all city and county people's congress standing committees to organize forces to inspect locally elected delegates to the provincial people's congress by the end of February. The circular urged: The delegates should listen to the reports on implementing the decisions of the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress made by local governments, courts, and procuratorates; inspect some grassroots units; and solicit the opinions and demands of electors so as to pool the wisdom of the people of the whole province; and to successfully convene the second session of the sixth provincial people's congress in the middle 10 days of this March. [Text] [SK120414 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 11 Feb 84]

CSO: 4005/375

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### HU YAOBANG VISITS GUANGXI BORDER DEFENSE UNITS

[Editorial Report] HK091050--Beijing Television Service in Mandarin on 6 February after its 1100 GMT newscast carries a 14-minute special program entitled "General Secretary Hu Yaobang Visits Guangxi Border Defense Units," reporting on Hu's activities at Fakashan, Guangxi, during his visit 31 January and 1 February.

The film, which is made by the Central Television Station on 4 February, begins with shots of some barracks and their surrounding mountains. Several soldiers are seen decorating for the Spring Festival. This is followed by a long shot of two jeep-like vehicles arriving in front of the barracks. The camera then cuts to show Hu being greeted by about 10 uniformed men with military salute.

In the following segment, Hu is shown walking up a hill, stopping twice and once being given a helping hand by a man in military uniform. He is shown accompanied by the following leaders: Yu Qiuli, director of the PLA General Political Department; Zhang Tingfa, commander of the PLA Air Force; Hao Jianxiu, alternate member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Wang Zhaoguo, first secretary of the CYL Central Committee; and "responsible persons of the Guangzhou PLA Units and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region," including You Taizhong, commander of the Guangzhou PLA Units, and Qiao Xiaoguang, first secretary of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous CPC Committee. On his way up the hill, Hu is shown inspecting trenches, a bunker, and a tunnel.

He is next seen seated at a table in a room talking with border defense fighters and listening to their briefs on living conditions. Other leaders accompanying Hu are shown present. Yu Qiuli and Zhang Tingfa are also shown speaking to some of the fighters offering words of encouragement, according to the narrative. The camera later cuts to show Hu writing words of praise on two pieces of white cloth with a Chinese writing brush.

The next segment opens with a shot of a large van and several small cars heading for an artillery position of a certain border defense unit. Rows of several tens of soldiers are then shown standing in front of a row of barracks being greeted by Hu Yaobang, who is seen raising a hand. This is followed by a medium shot of a weapon, which is shown to Hu and his party, who approach it. Hu is then seen exchanging salutes with an unidentified

officer standing near a weapon. More weapons are shown with uniformed men handling them. The narrator says that Hu watches a military exercise by the artillery fighters. After a shot of Hu exchanging salutes with an unidentified officer, the camera cuts to another segment as he and his party are shown leaving the scene.

This segment opens with shots showing first one guided missile and then another two on the site of a guided missile unit position. Hu and other leaders are then seen walking around, accompanied by uniformed men, on an inspection of the unit's combat readiness. About 20 uniformed men are later shown running in the direction of several missile launchers, which they operate in such a way that the missiles are seen rotating, aimed skyward. After a shot of this demonstration, Hu is seen standing among a group of uniformed men as according to the narrator, he praises the fighters' performance. The segment ends with more shots of Hu and his party and several rotating missiles.

The next segment shows Hu Yaobang, Yu Qiuli, Zhang Tingfa, Wang Zhaoguo, You Taizhong, and Qiao Xiaoguang addressing a rally in a large hall on 1 February, attended by over 1,000 uniformed men.

Another segment shows Hu arriving at an unidentified air base, in the company of Zhang Tingfa and others, and inspecting a group of pilots and other air force personnel who are standing in front of a row of about 10 jet fighters.

The program ends with scenes of Hu Yaobang, Yu Qiuli, Zhang Tingfa, You Taizhong, and other officials on a stand, reviewing groups of goose-stepping men of the "Fakashan Heroic Battalion."

CSO: 4005/373

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

EAST XINJIANG PLA COMMANDER CALLS ON CIVILIANS

OWO41242 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0035 GMT 3 Feb 84

[Text] Urumqi, 3 Feb (XINHUA)--Newsletter by XINHUA reporters Gu Yuezhong, Qiao Qigang and Wang Chengwen: "The Commander Visits Neighborhood Compounds at Night."

One night shortly before the Spring Festival, it was snowing hard and a cold wind was blowing. A soldier approaching 50, his body covered with snow, walked into the compound at No. 1, Lane 1 South, Geming Road, Urumqi City, and pushed open the door of Uygur resident Wushouerniyazi's home.

"Ah, it's Commander Duan!" Wushouerniyazi was pleasantly surprised and hastily led the visitor to a double sofa. "Look at you. It is so dark and slippery, and yet you have come such a long way to see us,..." he said, and picked up a handful of candy and put it in the commander's palm.

The visitor was Duan Changjin, commander of the East Xinjiang Military District. He and Wushouerniyazi are old acquaintances. Last year a certain unit of the East Xinjiang Military District and the Geming Road neighborhood launched a campaign to build a civilized street together. Commander Duan came to the neighborhood compound three times, called on each family to work for national unity, and in the process became friends with quite a number of minority residents.

By the light reflected by the snow, Commander Duan went to Liu Zhizhong's home. Liu Zhizhong was once a young delinquent. He had roamed the streets, broken into houses and become a regular guest of the detention house. Last year, a PLA unit assisted the neighborhood committee to help him build a house and discussed with the industrial and commercial labor department on issuing him a business license. Commander Duan had heart-to-heart talks with him on two occasions, patiently helped him to see what is right and sensible, and encouraged him to break with past and muster his courage to live on.

Yu Gangxiu and Du Xuexin, a couple living in Compound No. 5, Lane 1 South, had wanted a divorce because of family economic problems. Then, after a great deal of mediation work by cadres of the neighborhood committee and PLA cadres and fighters, the marriage was saved. Commander Duan came to their home and encouraged them to respect, help and understand each other.

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### PLA UNIVERSITY SELF-TAUGHT CADRES SCORE SUCCESS

HK090617 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Li Jianyu [2621 0256 5038] and Li Yuezhu [2621 2588 2691]: "More Than 1,000 Students Graduate From Single Course at the University for Self-Taught Cadres Run by Shenyang PLA Units to Bring Up Qualified Personnel for Modernization of Armed Forces--Commander Li Desheng and Others Take Personal Charge of Planning with All-Out Support From Other Quarters Concerned"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of a year, a lot of work was awaiting processing by the commander and other leading comrades who were assuming the highest military positions in the northeast region. Now, January had only 2 days left. However, a series of figures continued to linger in Commander Li Desheng's mind: Only 13 percent of the cadres in headquarters, in the political department, and in the logistics department had received tertiary education, and, in addition, more than 70 cadres were merely graduates of primary schools. How could such a cadre contingent meet the requirements for the work of high level leading organs? Pondering the problem, the commander made up his mind to improve as soon as possible the current intellectual structure of office cadres. An idea finally came to his mind--to establish a university for self-taught cadres. If 40 percent of the cadres could complete the courses in 3 years, the percentage of cadres of tertiary education level in all the organs, including those who had already reached tertiary education level, would be raised sharply to four times the original! What an encouraging change this would be! As soon as he thought about this, he picked up the telephone and rang Ma Ying, director of the political department.

Ma Ying the next day, convened, a joint meeting of responsible comrades of headquarters, the political department, the logistics department, and other departments in charge of vocational affairs. A concrete draft plan for the university for self-taught cadres was worked out after a day's intensive work. Then, on the third day, Commander Li convened the Ninth of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Shenyang PLA Units CPC Committee. After deliberation among the participants, the meeting decided to officially found the university for self-taught cadres of the Shenyang PLA Units. The new university offers 12 courses at university level, as basic subjects for the training of party and government cadres, which are to be completed within 3 years according to the regulations of the Ministry of Education. Commander Li was unanimously elected the first president of the university.

As the head of the university, Commander Li personally took part in the founding of the university. He called on Comrade Guo Feng, first secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, asking him to provide teachers for the new university. Guo Feng gave a favorable response to Commander Li's request and accepted the offered post as honorary president of the university. Then, as the first president of the university, Commander Li employed 14 professors and lecturers from Liaoning University as part-time teachers at the new university.

The founding ceremony of the university was solemnly held at the 1 August opera house of the Shenyang PLA Units on 1 March.

So, a series of problems were solved with the help of the commander and other leading comrades.

In view of the shortage of education funds, they drew 40,000 yuan from the emergency reserve funds of the PLA units and allotted the sum as funds for the university.

As the university lacked cars, they specially ordered the equipment department to supply a jeep.

Having learned that the students did not have enough time to take care of their work as well as their studies, they expressly ordered the leading comrades of the organs concerned to take up the matter personally.

Moistened by rain and dew, flowers blossomed in the garden. The students of the university, totaling more than 1,600, did not let their president and commander down. The results showed that 89.3 percent of the candidates from the university for self-taught cadres of the Shenyang PLA Units passed the examination. The university was among those colleges in the province which scored the highest percentage of passes.

CSO: 4005/373

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### HAINAN ARMED FORCES COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING

HK101252 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 10 Feb 84

[Text] On 7 February, the People's Armed Forces Commission of the Hainan Regional CPC Committee held a meeting to relay the spirit of the sixth meeting of the provincial People's Armed Forces Commission and to make arrangements for the tasks and measures of militia work in the 1980's. The meeting called on members of the People's Armed Forces Commission and leading cadres at various levels to do a good job of militia work. It also called on relevant departments to support militia building in the fields of manpower and material and financial resources. Comrade Yao Wenxu, secretary of the regional CPC committee and director of the People's Armed Forces Commission, presided and spoke at the meeting.

He said: Studying and implementing central Document No 1 is a major event in the rural areas. It is likewise a major event in militia building. It is necessary to speedily organize the militiamen in setting off a great upsurge of studying, publicizing, and implementing central Document No 1, to further improve the production responsibility system, to vigorously develop commodity production, to open all avenues toward prosperity, and to make greater contributions in promoting rural economic prosperity and speeding up the development and construction of Hainan. It is necessary to launch extensively a drive among militiamen to build socialist spiritual civilization. Efforts should be made to reform militia training and to constantly improve training quality. It is necessary to strengthen safety management over militia weapons and strive to open up a new situation in militia building in Hainan region.

CSO: 4005/373

HONG KONG JOURNAL QUOTES MAO ON HUNAN SELF-RULE

HK070817 Hong Kong CHISHIH NIENTAI in Chinese No. 169, Feb 84 pp 18, 19

["Mao Zedong on 'Hunan People Governing Hunan'--Epoch-making Political Essays of Mao Zedong Written in His Youth"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Break Up the Great China With No Foundation; the Building of a Number of Chinas Should Start From Hunan/

5 September 1920

/Proceeding from centralism, relying on authority, and thinking only of one-self has been the old way of China over the past 4,000 years. And the result is "the loss of China."...It is my view that the 27 localities of the original 22 provinces, 3 special zones, and 2 minority nationality regions of the country should be reconstructed by the people as 27 states./

The great China with a history of over 4,000 years can be said to be nonexistent, because it lacks a foundation. When speaking of China, it exists in form only, but the actual China does not exist, because it has no foundation. In my answer to Zheng Yi for the association for promoting the transformation of Hunan, I said: "The politics of China over the past 4,000 years have always been huge in framework, large in scope, and big in measures. And the results have been strong in appearance, but weak in reality, an empty show of strength, impressive and high-sounding at the upper levels, but corruptive and foolish at the lower levels. Since the founding of the republic, celebrities and great men have been clamoring for a constitution, a parliament, a president, and a cabinet system. The more they clamor, the worse the situation is. Why so? Because, as with building a house on sand, the house will collapse before the construction is completed. Actually, I sigh with emotion as I say those words. Anything without a basis will not hold water. Political organizations should take social organizations as their basis. Without social organizations, by no means can there be any political organizations. Under such conditions, if there should be some political organizations, they must be false ones. A big country should take the small localities as its basis. If construction is done inadequately, a great country will still fail to come into existence. The citizens of a country as a whole body depend on the individual. If the individual citizens are not sound, one does not



expect the whole body of citizens to be sound. To reform social organizations by means of political organizations, to promote the building of the localities on the strength of the state, and to transform the individual with the help of the organization--this is originally a kind of doctrine. However, this can only be realized under certain specific historical conditions. For instance. Lenin is engaged in a tremendous task, unprecedented in history, with a contingent of 1 million party members, mopping up counterrevolutionary political parties and carrying out a cleanup of the upper and middle classes. They have the doctrine of "Bolshevism," the opportunity was ripe (the defeat of Russia,) they were well-prepared, and they have the masses of genuinely reliable party members, who rose at a single call; and when an order was given, it spread swiftly across the land overnight to the laboring people, accounting for 90 percent of the country's population, who responded to the call. The success of the Russian revolution lies here. If a thoroughgoing general revolution were to take place in China, I would be all for it; but this will not work (I shall not discuss the reasons for the time being). Therefore, China's affairs should not proceed from centralism, but from dispersion. My teacher Yang Huizhong said: "Do not proceed from centralist view, but from a dispersionist view; do not rely on authority, but on the masses; do not think only of oneself, but of the people." Proceeding from centralism, relying on authority, and thinking only of oneself has been the old way of China over the past 4,000 years. And the result is "the loss of China." Therefore, the sole measure available is to "break up the great China with no foundation, and build a number of smaller Chinas."

It is my view that the 27 localities of the original 22 provinces, 3 special zones, and 2 minority nationality regions of the country should be reconstructed by the people as 27 states. This is what the people of various provinces and localities should come to realize. However, we have no right to decide whether all the people of various provinces and localities will become conscious of this or not. Therefore, we should take care of our own Hunan. Oh, Hunan people! It is time to wake up. There is actually little hope for a huge organization, but smaller organizations are full of bright prospects. If the Hunan people are really able, they should be bold enough to set up a republic of Hunan which is like a rising morning sun! The breaking up of the great China without a foundation and the building of many smaller states "should start from Hunan."

Changsha DAGONG BAO 5 September 1920

/The "Hunan Self-Rule Movement" Should be Initiated/

26 September 1920

/The Hunan self-rule movement should be initiated by the "people." If the self-rule of Hunan should succeed this time, but the reason for its success does not lie in "the people," but somewhere away from "the people," I dare say such self-rule will not last very long./

Whatever the undertaking, if there is "theory" in it, but without some kind of "movement" immediately following, the aim of such "theory" will not come to be realized. It is true that the self-rule of Hunan should base itself on such theories as "the necessity of self-rule," "now is the best opportunity for claiming self-rule in Hunan," and "Hunan and the Hunan people have acquired the essential qualities and abilities for independence and self-rule," and it is necessary to advocate, deliberate on, and study these theories, so as to arouse the interest and courage of that portion of people who have not yet become conscious of them. However, if a movement fails to follow in practice, the self-rule of Hunan will still look good on paper only, or be pleasing to the ears, but will never come into existence. A great many people have come to understand this theory from their own experiences of suffering. Therefore, what is lacking is a movement in practice, which is a very urgent need at present.

I personally believe that there are two categories of movements in practice; one is the movement of plunging oneself into concrete construction; and the other is a promotion movement that stands outside of concrete construction. Both are important and the latter is particularly necessary at present and in the future. We can almost say that whether the self-rule of Hunan will come into existence and its success depend on such a movement.

Another thing I feel is that the Hunan self-rule movement should be initiated by the "people." If the self-rule of Hunan should succeed this time, but the reason for its success does not lie in "the people," but somewhere away from "the people," I daresay such self-rule will not last very long. Because though the form is there, the contents are not there for one to examine; and when one does look into them, they must be corruptive, hypocritical, empty, or dry.

The "Hunan self-rule movement" should be initiated right now. There is no need for us to engage in the concrete construction movement, but we should not shun the promotion movement. We should not delay our actions because there are few people participating in it; few as they are, if they are in earnest, the work will be fruitful.

In doing anything, we cannot expect everything to be successful at the very beginning, and that it will win the support and help of the majority at first. It will develop from the near to the far, from being little to being great in amount, and from being small to being great in scope. There are quite a few people who hold that the intellectual resources of the Hunan people have not been exploited, that the communications there are poor, and that it will be very difficult to make a good job of self-rule. In my view, we should reject such absurd opinions.

Changsha DAGONG BAO 26 September 1920

Collected in "History of the Hunan Self-Rule Movement," Zhoudong Publishing House, December 1920, Vol. 1.

/"Hunan Natives to Rule Hunan," and "Self-Rule of the Hunan People"/

30 September 1920

/The slogan "Hunan natives to rule Hunan" is aimed against "the rule of Hunan by non-Hunan natives," such as the rule of Hunan by Hubei and Anhui people, and it is still rule by officials, but not by the people. ...Therefore, what we are for and welcome is only the slogan of "self-rule of the Hunan people." We are unwilling to be ruled, not only by someone from another province, but also by a handful of special, privileged people of our own province./

The slogan "Hunan natives to rule Hunan" is aimed against "the rule of Hunan by non-Hunan natives," such as the rule of Hunan by Hubei and Anhui people, and it is still rule by officials, but not by the people; if the campaign to impeach Tang Xiangming [3282 5577 6900] and Zhang Jingyao [1728 2417 1031] is aimed at getting rid of non-Hunan people and at achieving the ruling of Hunan by natives of Hunan, while there are no other changes in essence, then Zhang Zuolin [1728 0155 7207] of Fengtian [now Liaoning], the two Caos [2580] of Zhidi [now Hebei], Zhao Chou [6392 0232] of Henan, Chen Shu Fan [7115 2885 5672] of Shaanxi, Ni Cicong [0242 0843 0394] of Anhui, Lu Rongting [7120 2837 1694] of Guangxi, Tang Jiyao [0781 4949 1031] of Yunnan... are all from their own provinces. And this is precisely the rule of Fengtian by a native of Fengtian, the rule of Zhidi by a native of Zhidi, the rule of Henan by a native of Henan, the rule of Shaanxi by a native of Shaanxi, and the rule of Anhui by a native of Anhui..., but what difference does it make anyway to compare them with Tang Xiangming and Zhang Jingyao, "who are not from Hunan while ruling Hunan," with Wang Zhanyuan [3769 0594 0337], "who is not from Hubei while ruling Hubei," Li Houji [2621 0624 1015], "who is not from Fujian while ruling Fujian," and Mo Rongxin [5459 2837 2540] "who is not from Guangdong while ruling Guangdong?" Moreover, Duan Qirui [3008 4388 3843] has appointed Fu Liangzuo [0265 5328 1563] to govern Hunan on the grounds of Hunan being ruled by natives of Hunan. Therefore, we should fundamentally oppose the slogan of "Hunan natives to rule Hunan." Because such a slogan has a bad sense. And it implies the meaning that a small handful of special, privileged people are regarded as the rulers, while the ordinary people are regarded as being ruled, and that the rulers are masters while those being ruled are slaves. Such rulers, even if they are as wise and able as King Yu of the Xia Dynasty, King Tang of the Shang Dynasty, and King Wen and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty, should all be opposed. Should we not oppose this Fu Liangzuo, or many others like him who will succeed him in the future? Therefore, what we are for and welcome is only the slogan of "self-rule of the Hunan people." We are unwilling to be ruled, not only by someone from another province, but also by a handful of special, privileged people of our own province. We are for organizing the complete self-rule of the township, the county, and the province. The chief of the township should be elected by the people, and likewise the governor of the province. It is essential for us to elect those who are reliable among ourselves to do public service. Only by so doing will it be the genuine "self-rule of the Hunan people." At present, there are quite a number of people who have confused the ruling

of Hunan by natives of Hunan, and the self-rule of Hunan. To my mind, we had better draw a line of demarcation between the two different concepts.

Changsha DAGONG BAO 30 September 1920

/"Complete Self-Rule" and "Semiself-Rule"]

3 October 1920

/We advocates of the "Republic of Hunan" do not necessarily demand the changing of the word "province" in "Hunan Province" into "republic." We will be content if we achieve some kind of "complete self-rule" but not some status of "semiself-rule."/

We advocates of the "Republic of Hunan" do not necessarily demand the changing of the word "province" in "Hunan Province" into "republic." We will be content if we achieve some kind of "complete self-rule" but not some status of "semiself-rule." The essentials of a "country" are its territory, its people, and its sovereignty, among which sovereignty is the essential of essentials. The people of Hunan have no complete sovereignty to speak of in handling their own affairs; their interests have long been infringed on, they have gained very little from, but lost a great deal to central authority and the neighboring provinces. The people of Hunan are by no means without feeling and it is only natural that they have felt it, and risen for their independence. It is at this juncture that Mr Liu Chunren advocates the founding of a union of states. In my view, as there are no states in China, whence comes the basis for a union of states? At present, we should exert our efforts to bring the states into being before advocating the forming of a union of states. It was the case with Germany and the United States of America, the states had long existed before they became members of the union. When the states are in existence, a union will be the natural outcome. I am always doubtful about the proposal to form a general organization of China in 2 decades. Therefore, I am against not only Wu Zhiyu's proposal for a national congress, but also Liang Qicao's proposal for the drawing up of a constitution by the people, while I strongly object to the peace negotiations between the North and the South. I hold that the most elementary demand is the separation and the mutual independence of the North and the South; on this basis, we should go further into the self-rule of various provinces. Hunan and Guangdong have the best conditions among all the provinces. They can overthrow all the existing systems with a revolutionary spirit, to build a Hunan which is wanted by the people of Hunan (an ideal and new Hunan), and a Guangdong which is wanted by the people of Guangdong (an ideal and new Guangdong), and to set up an exemplary self-rule in these two provinces. If these two provinces with such good conditions should be hindered by a status of semiself-rule, that would be superficial, table, and a real pity! I feel that Hunan people are genuinely and adorably characterized by their fortitude, exertion, courage, and sense of unity. Nevertheless, they lack some lofty ideals. That is why Hunan people have made little progress in their lives; they have to depend upon others, they fail to make a breakthrough in their environment and to achieve what they wish. I should like

to write in full on the theory of the "republic of Hunan," in which I have been held up by other things. I will have it ready soon to seek criticism from my fellow-countrymen. Here, I have stated a general outline of my view, in response to Mr Liu, and to some of my friends who have been doubtful about his proposal.

Changsha DAGONG BAO 3 October 1920

CSO: 4005/376

DISTRICT BOARD MEMBER RELEASES RESULTS OF SURVEY

HK070150 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 7 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Hong Kong people should be free to travel and leave Hong Kong after 1997, according to an opinion survey on the lease issue.

More than 86 percent of the 2,019 respondents regard freedom as a matter of first importance.

The survey also revealed that locals (about 81 percent of the responses) expect elected senior government officials to run Hong Kong after 1997.

Another concern is that there should be Hong Kong representatives on the drafting committee for Hong Kong's future mini-constitution.

Mr Chum Ting-pong, elected member of the Eastern District Board, announced the findings to the press yesterday.

The 10 questions of the survey covered the sovereignty question, localisation of jurisdiction, democratisation of local administration, and whether Hong Kong should have its own currency.

The findings, based on 2,019 returned questionnaires, are as follows:

- More than half of the respondents say China should recover Hong Kong.
- Eighty percent agree there must be Hong Kong representation on the drafting committee for the mini-constitution.
- Seventy percent think Hong Kong is ready for self-administration.
- Seventy percent want more grassroot democracy in the administrative structure.
- Seventy percent favour expanding the power of the district boards.
- Eighty percent think that senior government officials should be chosen through election.

- Seventy percent say the judiciary should be localised.
- Sixth percent favour Hong Kong having its own currency after 1997.
- Eighty-six percent think that Hong Kongites should be free to travel and leave the territory after 1997.
- Sixty percent think that China should tighten its immigration policy to stem the flow of mainlanders into Hong Kong.

CSO: 4000/210

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